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Tenth Annual Report

of the

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

FOR THE YEAR 1919

A Summary of Work and an Accounting

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

National Office : 70 Fifth Avenue, New York

January, 1920

Price 15 cents

Date.....

J. E. SPINGARN, Treasurer,
70 Fifth Ave., N. Y.

I enclose the sum of \$.....to the General Fund
pledge \$.....to the Anti-Lynching Fund
\$.....to the Legal Defense Fund
of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored
People.

(Signed).....

Address.....

.....

FORM OF BEQUEST

I give and bequeath to the "National Association For
The Advancement Of Colored People," incorporated in
the year 1911, under the Laws of the State of New York,
the sum of.....

.....
dollars to be used for the purposes of the said Association.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

70 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

Official Organs: *The Crisis*, *The Branch Bulletin*, published monthly

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I

MEMBERSHIP GROWTH CONTINUES

December 31, 1917— 80 Branches, 9,282 Members

December 31, 1918—165 Branches, 43,994 Members

December 31, 1919—310 Branches, 91,203 Members

More Than 47,000 New Members in 1919 Increase of 82,000 Members in Two Years

In last year's accounting the Association was able to report an increase from the previous year of 35,000 members. This increase continued during 1919 with the remarkable result that some 47,000 new members were added, making a total membership increase for the past two years of over 82,000.* The number of new branches chartered during the year was 145, bringing the total number of branches at the end of the year up to 310.

Branch organizations are to be found in 42 states, the District of Columbia, in one Canadian city, in the Isthmian Canal Zone and in the Phillipine Islands. Nineteen states have more than five branches each; nine states have more than ten branches each; while two states have more than twenty branches each. The states having more than ten branches each are California, Georgia, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Texas, Virginia. Texas has continued her remarkable growth in the number of branches, amounting to an aggregate of thirty-five at the end of the year. The growth in Texas was practically spontaneous and not due to outside stimulation, no organizing work having

* Members are carried a full two years on the rolls before being dropped for the non-payment of dues.

Geographical Distribution of Branch Membership on December 31, 1918, and December 31, 1919

	Branches		New	New	Total	Total
	1918	1919	Members	Branches	Member- ship, 1918	Member- ship, 1919
NORTH.....	76	122	4,438	46	20,957	38,420
New England.....	6	9	192	3	4,978	6,263
Middle Atlantic....	20	32	1,247	12	4,701	9,281
East N. Central....	36	59*	2,480	25	8,021	17,256
West N. Central....	14	20	519	6	3,257	5,620
SOUTH.....	70	154	9,166	85	18,701	42,588
South Atlantic.....	45	70†	2,262	26	12,504	22,657
East S. Central....	6	26	3,019	20	2,591	8,326
West S. Central....	19	58	3,885	39	3,606	11,605
WEST.....	16	33	1,804	17	2,859	7,440
Mountain.....	5	14	563	9	717	1,996
Pacific.....	11	19	1,241	8	2,142	5,444
OUTSIDE U. S.....	3	3†	59	1	206	255
Grand Total, Branch Membership.....	165	314	15,467	149	42,723	88,703

* Two branches dropped during 1919.

† One branch dropped during 1919.

been done and no addresses having been made in the state during the year by representatives of the Association.

Kentucky branches have been increased in number from one to ten. Ten new branches were organized in Oklahoma, seven in Alabama, eight in Michigan, seven in Ohio and eight in Pennsylvania, to mention only the states in which the largest number of branches have been organized during the year. The growth in Oklahoma and in Alabama, like that

of Texas, was due to the spontaneous efforts of the people in the several localities concerned.

In the North, the Association had at the end of the year a total of 122 branches with some 38,420 members; in the South, 155 branches and some 42,588 members; in the West 33 branches and some 7,440 members. In addition, there were some 2,500 members not affiliated with any branch. The following comparative table shows the distribution of branches by geographical divisions and comparative branch membership for 1918 and 1919.

New Methods Used to Develop Growth

To develop the growth of branches the Association printed and distributed 3,800 copies of a revised constitution for branches, and 9,000 copies of a special pamphlet entitled "Three Advantages of Having a Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Your Community." This pamphlet stressed the value of co-ordinated effort and pointed the familiar but often disregarded moral that "all your strength is in your union, all your danger in discord." In all over 268,500 copies of strictly organization literature were distributed and circulated through the branches and through groups meeting for the purpose of considering organization. A Directory of speakers who could be available for the use of branches, containing the names of sixty-four speakers, was prepared and will be distributed early in 1920.*

Continued Growth an Encouragement

The added stimulus of new groups and new members coming from nearly all the states has vivified all our efforts and shown itself in every phase of national and local effort.

* Has been published as this report was in preparation.

In Chapter VIII under the heading, "The Association's Branches," a brief topical summary has been given of the principal achievements of these branches. No words, however eloquent, can depict the encouragement which these hundreds of new branches and thousands of new members have given to the workers at National headquarters. More significant still is the feeling of colored people, living in the backward states, so often expressed in letters to the National Office, of what their affiliation with the National Association means to them in the way of encouragement and hope. Unrepresented in local, state and national legislatures, disfranchised, denied representation in the jury box and their children deprived of their fair share of educational opportunities in states where the "color line" is drawn, these anomalous citizens of our American democracy would despair of the future were it not for their belief that in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People they have an increasingly effective instrument for securing recognition of their full and equal citizenship in all the states of the Union.

The presence of no less than 150 branches in Southern states, 120 branches in Northern states and 40 branches in other sections, testifies to the nation-wide awakening for fuller participation in that democracy for which the World War was fought and in which the Negro played his full and glorious part.

A New Spirit

The Negro in the South has often been told that if he would obey the law (and this by men who denied the law when it affirmed equal citizenship of the Negro), accumulate property, acquire a "practical" education and so on, all else of his needs would be added unto him. But a new Negro

has come upon the scene. He has been able, as women have been able, to see that the ballot is the *sine qua non* of citizenship, that *equality before the law* presupposes an equal chance to make the law and to decide as to the means of its enforcement.

It is not enough in a democracy to obey the law. This the Negro has always done. In a democracy every citizen must also, through the free and unrestricted exercise of the ballot, help to make and to enforce the law under which he is to live. Recognizing this, the Negro everywhere is determined to press his right to the citizenship guaranteed him by the federal constitution and to resent as un-American all discriminations against him as a United States citizen. In this spirit he is realizing increasingly that organization for his citizenship advancement is essential. He cannot depend upon others to secure his rights, nor can he consent to be the ward of a favored class of citizens. He must play a man's part in the struggle to make American democracy a complete fact.

Devoted to Americanism

However much some elements of our population may desire to change the form and scope of American institutions, and subvert its constitutional structure, as is so frequently alleged, the colored people of America and their white fellow-citizens working for complete Negro citizenship, desire only that colored people may not any longer be denied an opportunity to be "*one hundred per cent*" Americans. American in spirit, they desire to serve their country at the ballot box, in the jury panel and everywhere to take their full share of citizenship responsibilities. They ask of the government of America that it obey its own laws, in letter and in spirit, that no amendments to the federal constitution be trampled

under foot to flatter the prejudices of those who deny to *some* citizens what has been *guaranteed by law to all*.

For such purposes and to such ends, they have joined with thousands of their fellow-citizens in branches of the Association, to strive by every legal and constitutional method for complete Negro citizenship in accordance with established law.

II

MAKING LYNCHING A NATIONAL ISSUE

Summary of Year's Results

The Association's campaign against lynching and mob violence was carried further during 1919 than in any previous year.

As a direct result, mob murder (of Negroes particularly) has been lifted out of its heretofore purely local and sectional setting and made, as never before, a national issue. Editors, statesmen, large church bodies and chambers of commerce have spoken strongly against lynching when appealed to by the Association and Congressional committees have had the matter before them for action. The Association's chief contributions to this result, which are treated more fully in succeeding pages, were:

1. Calling of the First National Conference on Lynching (upon the Association's initiative) by 120 distinguished leaders of American opinion, North and South, which focused national attention upon the lynching menace.

2. Wide circulation of an *Address to the Nation* upon the evils of lynching and demanding Congressional investigation of the subject, signed by 140 leading federal and state officials and citizens from 30 states, including twenty-two signers from Southern states.

3. Publication of *Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States* (1889-1918), an authoritative compilation and statistical summary of the facts which included a chronological list of persons lynched by years and states and the story of one hundred typical lynchings.

4. An energetic, nation-wide campaign to secure a Congressional investigation of mob violence and lynching.

5. An educational and publicity campaign reaching the entire press and all sections of the country, and calling forth much editorial comment.

6. Special articles contributed to leading magazines by members of the Association's staff.

Some \$15,793 of the Association's funds (this does not include any share of administrative salaries) were spent on anti-lynching work as compared with an expenditure of \$3,283 in 1918, the largest annual expenditure for that purpose theretofore.

Extent of the Lynching Evil

1889-1918

During the year the National Association published a pamphlet of 105 pages entitled "Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States."* In this volume were included only those lynchings whose occurrence could be amply substantiated. One hundred eighty-one lynchings heretofore recorded as having occurred were eliminated from this report because of insufficiency of data. It is highly probable that a much larger number of lynchings have occurred than were recorded. The minimum number, therefore, of lynchings during the period covered by the report (1889-1918) was 3,224, of which number 2,522 were Negroes and 702 whites. Of the whites lynched, 691 were men and 11 women; of the colored, 2,472 were men and 50 were women. For the whole period, 78 per cent of the victims were Negroes and a little less than 22 per cent were whites. Two hundred and nineteen of the total number of lynchings occurred in the North, 2,834 in the South, 156 in the West and 15 in Alaska and places unknown. Georgia led the states in which more than

* April, 1919, price 50 cents.

100 lynchings occurred, with 385 victims, followed closely by Mississippi with 373, Texas 335, Louisiana 313, Alabama 276, Arkansas 214, Tennessee 196, Florida 178, Kentucky 169 and South Carolina 120.

Among colored victims, 35.8 per cent were accused of murder; 28.4 per cent of rape and "attacks upon women" (19 per cent of rape and 9.4 per cent of "attacks upon women"); 17.8 per cent of crimes against the person (other than those already mentioned) and against property; 12 per cent were charged with miscellaneous crimes and in 5.6 per cent of cases no crime at all was charged.*

During the last five years of the period covered by this summary less than one in five of the colored victims had been accused of rape or of attacks upon women (rape, 11 per cent; attacks upon women, 8 per cent), making it evident that the so-called "one crime" had long since ceased to be a "cause" of lynching.

1919

The lynching of Negroes by whites continues, as in previous years, to be the outstanding fact in the situation. Seventy-seven Negroes, four white American citizens and two Mexicans, were killed by mobs with an unprecedented increase in the ferocity and barbarity of lynchings. Ten of the Negroes lynched were ex-soldiers; one was a woman.

Apropos of the lynching of Mexican citizens in Pueblo, Col., it is an interesting fact, which the Association was able to point out, that whereas the illegal, unpunished killings of nine Americans in Mexico within a definite period of time were pointed to as an occasion for American intervention in Mexico, during the same period thirty-eight unpunished killings by mobs of American citizens occurred in the United States.

* Attention is again called to the fact that rarely is proof of guilt presented, most of the victims having had no court trial.

As appears elsewhere in the report, eleven Negroes were burned alive at the stake and three were burned after they had been killed by mobs. In all of these cases large numbers of men, women, and often, children, stood watching the helpless victims in their death agony. The psychological effect upon the observers and participants in such scenes as these cannot be overestimated. Dr. A. A. Brill, neurologist, one of the chief American exponents of the psycho-analytic method, vividly portrays the psychological effects of mob hangings, burnings at stake and the horrors of lynching upon those who take part in and witness them. He says:

"The torture which is an accompaniment of modern lynching shows that it is an act of perversion only found in those suffering from extreme forms of sexual perversion. Of course, not all lynchings are conducted in that way but it is not uncommon to read accounts telling that the victim was tortured with hot irons, that his eyes were burned out and that other monstrous cruelties were inflicted upon him. Such bestiality can be recognized only as a form of perversion. Lynching is a distinct menace to the community. It allows primitive brutality to assert itself and thus destroys the strongest fabric of civilization. Anyone taking part in or witnessing a lynching cannot remain a civilized person."

The effect upon the Negro race itself is no less marked. It is certain that the large migrations during the past few years have been due as much, if not more, to the failure of the states from which the migrants came to protect Negroes against mobs than to any other one cause.

In last year's annual report we pointed out that no class of citizens can be denied the protection of the laws with impunity. Once again we earnestly bring this subject to the attention of the American public without whose tacit approval lynching could not continue. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People appeals to the heart and the conscience of America. It appeals no less to the American intellect to realize what resentments are being fostered among Negroes and what cruelty and disregard for law are being encouraged among whites by allowing lawless mobs

to terrorize whole sections of our country and to wreak their unholy will, unrebuked. The Association earnestly urges that steps be taken by the United States government to make an end to this miserable disgrace and foul blot upon the fair name of America. An increase of twenty-four per cent in the number of lynchings for 1919 as compared with 1918, and 1918 itself an increase over 1917, is distinctly discouraging. How long will America continue to blacken her soul with the infamy of unpunished lynchings?

Summary Tables

By States

Alabama.....	8 (1 white)
Arkansas.....	10
Colorado.....	2 (Mexicans)
Florida.....	5
Georgia.....	21
Kansas.....	1 (white)
Louisiana.....	8
Mississippi.....	12
Missouri.....	2 (1 white)
Nebraska.....	1
North Carolina.....	4
South Carolina.....	2
Tennessee.....	1
Texas.....	3
Washington.....	1 (white)
West Virginia.....	2
	—
Total.....	83

Manner of Lynching

Burned.....	14
(11 before death; 3 after death)	
Shot.....	31
Hanged.....	24
Beaten to death.....	2
Cut to pieces.....	1
Drowned.....	1
Manner unknown.....	10
	—
Total.....	83

Alleged Offenses

Murder.....	27
Assault on white woman.....	14
Attempted assault on white woman.....	5
Insulting white woman.....	5
Intimacy with white woman.....	2
Attempting to pull white woman from horse.....	1
Shooting white man.....	7
Assault on white man.....	1
Altercation with white man.....	1
Beating and robbing white man.....	1
Found under bed in white man's house.....	1
Not turning out of road for white boy in auto.....	1
Misleading mob.....	1
Insulting white man.....	1
Boastful remarks <i>re</i> killing of sheriff.....	1
Result of race riot.....	1
Talking of Chicago Riot.....	1
Expressing himself too freely <i>re</i> lynching of Negro.....	1
Leader among Negroes.....	1
Circulating incendiary literature.....	1
Member of Non-Partisan League.....	1
Trouble between white and colored cotton-mill workers ...	1
Abetting riot.....	4
Causes unknown.....	3
Total.....	83

Special Features of Lynchings**BURNED ALIVE**

Readers of our 1918 report were shocked to learn that two colored men had been burned at the stake before death and that the bodies of four had been burned after death. During 1919, however, this monstrous crime of burning men alive happened eleven times in six states, while in the case of three others, who were burned, they were mercifully killed before the burning was consummated. In addition to this, a mob gathered at Moberly, Mo., during the middle of November and made preparations to burn four Negroes who were accused of beating and robbing a white farmer of twelve

dollars.* The mob's sport was interfered with by an attempted escape and rush for liberty on the part of the four prisoners, one of whom was shot and killed in the attempt, and the other three escaped.

Below are listed the burnings which have occurred, the place and date of these burnings, the names of the victims and the crimes of which they were accused:

BURNED AT STAKE

Date	Place	Name
1/26	Texas, Hillsboro.....	Bragg Williams, "Murder of woman and child " Sentenced to be hanged; appeal pending
3/14	Fla., Castlebury.....	Bud Johnson, "Attack on white woman "
5/ 2	Ga., Warrentown.....	Benny Richards, "Killed divorced wife; wound- ed sister and four white men "
5/14	Miss., Vicksburg	Lloyd Clay, "Assault on white woman "
5/21	Ark., Eldorado.....	Frank Livingston, "Killing employer and latter's wife "
6/26	Miss., Ellisville.....	John Hartfield, "Assault on white woman "
8/28	Ga., Ocmulgee.....	Eli Cooper, "Burned church; Leader among people who were planning to rise against white people "
9/ 2	La., Bogalusa.....	Lucius McCarthy, "Attack on white woman."
9/10	Ga., Oglethorpe Co.....	Obe Cox, "Murdered white woman."
9/29	Neb., Omaha.....	Will Brown, "Attack on white woman."
10/ 7	Ga., Lincolnton.....	Jack Gordon, Will Brown: "Shot two deputies." (One died.)
11/ 3	Ga., Macon.....	Paul Jones, "Attacking white woman."
11/11	Ark., Magnolia.....	Jordan Jameson, "Murder of sheriff."

States	Burned Alive	Burned After Death	Total
Arkansas.....	2	..	2
Florida.....	1	..	1
Georgia.....	4	2	6
Louisiana.....	..	1	1
Mississippi.....	2	..	2
Nebraska.....	1	..	1
Texas.....	1	..	1
	—	—	—
Total.....	11	3	14

*Associated Press despatch.

LYNCHERS IN "CONTEMPT OF COURT"

In the case of the burning at Hillsboro, Texas, on January 26, of Bragg Williams, who was tied to a concrete post in the public square, the Texas Attorney General's office sought to have members of the mob convicted of "contempt of court" on the ground that since the victim was in the custody of the court when burned, the burners were guilty of contempt. No results were accomplished by this procedure to date, one year after the event, and no members of the mob were brought to justice.

BURNED—BUT NOT GUILTY

While making a trip through the South to secure first hand information regarding conditions there, Mr. Herbert J. Seligmann* investigated in May the burning alive of Lloyd Clay, a nineteen-year-old colored boy on May 14, in Vicksburg, Miss. In an article under the caption, "Protecting Southern Womanhood," which appeared in *The Nation* of June 14, Mr. Seligmann described in detail the lynching and the events leading up to it, stressing the testimony of an eye-witness that bloodhounds on taking up the trail after the woman made the outcry that she had been assaulted, immediately led the way to the home of a white man but were pulled away by the man leading the dogs; that when at first confronted with Clay the alleged victim declared he was "not the man," as well as stressing the fact that Clay was said to have been at home asleep when the alleged attack took place.

BURNED FOR SHOOTING

Jack Gordon and Will Brown, two Negroes, were burned alive at Lincolnton, Ga., for having shot a deputy sheriff

* Now the Association's Director of Publicity.

and his assistant, neither of whom had died at the time of the burning, but one of whom died later.

LYNCHING ADVERTISED IN ADVANCE

Nothing more atrocious has happened anywhere than was indicated by the publication in the New Orleans *States* and the Jackson, Mississippi, *News* of an advance notice of the burning of John Hartfield which was predicted for the afternoon of the day upon which these morning editions appeared. The former paper printed in red in large type across the top of the front page the words "3,000 WILL BURN NEGRO," while below its readers were informed that Governor Bilbo had said that he was powerless to prevent the lynching.* The announcement was made of the appointment of a committee of citizens to make the "arrangements for the lynching" and that "the officers who had him in charge had agreed to turn him over to the mob at four o'clock in the afternoon."

PRESS RIBALDRY

When in March an inquiry was made by the Association as to what had become of Eugene Greene whom newspaper despatches had reported to have "disappeared" from a lock-up in which he was being detained at Belzoni, Miss., an anonymous correspondent sent the Association a clipping from a Jackson, Miss., paper in which appeared the following remarkable language:

"The Governor is not in the city and the telegram has not been answered. However, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People need not remain in the dark concerning the fate of Greene. He was 'advanced' all right from the end of a rope and in order to save burial expenses his body was thrown into the Yazoo River."

The newspaper described the Association as spending money in a lavish manner for telegraph tolls in making such inquiries, and our anonymous correspondent offered to send the "exact size" of the rope with which "this coon" was hung.

* See page 24 for Governor Bilbo's statement.

TAKEN FROM STRETCHER

In April, George Holden was accused of writing a note to a white woman and was lynched at Monroe, La., on the third attempt, two previous attempts having failed. He was taken from a stretcher on a baggage train where he lay severely injured and shot to death. The coroner's jury held that he "came to his death by unknown parties." A reliable correspondent, resident in the neighborhood, however, informs the Association that the accusation made against Holden was a "frame-up," that he had contracted to paint and paper a number of houses, jobs that were wanted by white men, and that moreover, he could not write.

LYNCHED IN HOSPITAL

On September 30, John Temple was shot to death while lying in a hospital bed at Montgomery, Alabama, despite the valiant efforts of nurses to prevent the lynching.

Taken from Peace Officers and Jails

Our records show that in thirty-four instances mob victims were taken from officers and jails as follows:

Alabama.....	3
Arkansas.....	2
Colorado.....	2
Florida.....	4
Georgia.....	5
Louisiana.....	3
Mississippi.....	3
Missouri.....	2
Nebraska.....	1
North Carolina.....	2
Tennessee.....	1
Texas.....	3
Washington.....	1
West Virginia.....	2
Total.....	34

Convictions

The only convictions noted during the year were those of fifteen men sentenced to from fourteen months to six years for attempting to break into the jail at Winston-Salem, N. C., for the purpose of lynching Russell High, a Negro, and during which white defenders of the jail were killed; and the fining of twelve men who pleaded guilty in court to the lynching of Frank Foukal, a white man, at Bay Minette, Ala. The men pleaded guilty by agreement and the fines ranged from \$100 to \$300. Both the attempted lynching and the lynching actually consummated, for which the punishments were meted out, occurred in 1918.

REWARDS OFFERED FAIL TO PRODUCE RESULTS

The publishers of the San Antonio, Texas, *Express*, who established a fund of \$100,000 to be used as rewards for bringing about conviction of lynchers, informed us on January 10, 1920, that since the establishment of the fund, on August 4, 1918, "No claims for reward have been presented."

In addition to the San Antonio *Express* Reward Fund, liberal rewards for the apprehension of participants in lynching mobs have been offered in three instances without result. In the case of the lynching of Berry Washington at Milan, Ga., \$1,500 reward was offered, \$1,000 of which was offered by Governor Dorsey; \$750 of a \$1,500 reward was offered by Governor Dorsey for the apprehension of the lynchers of Eli Cooper at Ocmulgee, Ga.; and Governor Bickett of North Carolina has offered rewards of \$400 each for the arrest and conviction of members of the mob which lynched a Negro at Franklinton, N. C., on December 27.

In many instances special grand juries were called but their reports have generally been that they were "unable to find information as to the identity of any of the lynchers."

Governors Confess Themselves Helpless

In addition to the fact that convictions are rare and that local authorities do not protect prisoners from lynching mobs, governors have confessed themselves powerless to prevent lynchings or to act unless requested to by local authorities who fear to offend mobs and who are at times participants in lynchings.

Before the burning at stake of John Hartfield, at Ellisville, Miss., on June 26, Governor Bilbo of Mississippi, whose declaration of powerlessness has previously been alluded to, was reported in the press to have said:

"I am utterly powerless. The State has no troops, and if the civil authorities at Ellisville are helpless, the State is equally so. Furthermore, excitement is at such a high pitch throughout South Mississippi that any armed attempt to interfere with the mob would doubtless result in the death of hundreds of persons. The negro has confessed, says he is ready to die, and nobody can keep the inevitable from happening."

In his inaugural address to the Legislature, July 3, 1918, Governor Hugh M. Dorsey of Georgia said:

"When information of impending mob violence is brought to the attention of the Executive, he should not be handicapped by having to await a call for military assistance from local authorities."

In his inaugural address on June 28, 1919, to the succeeding Legislature Governor Dorsey repeated the language given above and in addition said:

"I deem it my duty further to stress on this occasion the necessity of taking immediate steps to suppress mob rule in Georgia. There seems to be among some of our people a disposition to disregard and defy the sovereignty of our State. Mob violence should be suppressed and by State authorities. If this is not done, *it is very probable that Federal intervention will not be long delayed. There has already been introduced into the Federal Congress a bill conferring jurisdiction upon Federal tribunals to punish those participating in lynchings. Without awaiting Federal action, I submit that it is the duty of Georgia to take drastic steps to deal with this question.*" *

* Italics ours.

Despite the urgent appeal of Georgia's Governor, the Legislature took no action to strengthen his hands.

Association Action in Specific Cases

The following table summarizes action taken by the National Office in specific cases:

State	Telegrams and Letters of Protest, Inquiry and Com- mendation			Acknowledgments			
	Gov- ernor	Chamber of Com- merce	Other Official Persons	Gov- ernor	Chamber of Com- merce	Other Official Persons	Press Stories
Alabama.....	1	..	..	1	..	..	1
Arkansas.....	4	..	..	..	..	..	3
Colorado.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Florida.....	2	..	..	1	..	..	2
Georgia.....	3	..	..	..	..	..	8
Kansas.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Louisiana.....	2	3	..	..	..	..	3
Mississippi.....	6	..	1	..	..	..	7
Missouri.....	1	..	1	1	..	1	1
Nebraska.....	..	..	1	1	..	..	3
North Carolina....	4	..	..	1	..	..	1
South Carolina....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tennessee.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Texas.....	2	4	..	..	1	..	2
Washington.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
West Virginia.....	..	..	2	..	..	..	1
Total.....	25	7	5	5	1	1	32

Investigations

During the year personal investigations were made by members of the staff of nine lynchings, one attempted lynching, three race riots, one case of alleged deportation of Negro steel workers from a Pennsylvania town, while two members

of the staff attended the trials of two white men (the first of 17 indicted) accused of lynching two colored men in Alabama.

The Field Secretary and the Director of Publicity investigated the race riots in Washington in July. Articles based on the latter's findings under the captions, "Race War" and "Democracy and Jim-Crowism" appeared in *The New Republic* of August 13 and September 3. The Secretary, Assistant Secretary and Director of Publicity also covered the Chicago race riots of July. An article under the title, "What is Behind the Negro Uprisings?" by the latter appeared in *Current Opinion* in its September issue. It is well to mention that the title was chosen by the editors of *Current Opinion* and did not represent the writer's point of view.

In January, an investigation was made of the lynching at Shubuta, Miss., of two colored youths and two colored girls who had been accused of murdering a white man of the town.* An account of the trials of the first two of seventeen white men at Tuscumbia, Ala., acquitted of lynching two Negroes, written by the Assistant Secretary, appeared in the *New York Evening Post* of February 19.

The alleged deportation of Negro steel workers from Coatesville, Pa., when investigated, was found to have been overstated in the daily press.

During the month of August spent in Chicago by the Assistant Secretary in connection with the riots, evidence in the form of affidavits was secured against thirty-two persons and placed before the special grand jury working on the riot situation. An article by the Assistant Secretary entitled, "Chicago and its Eight Reasons," appeared in the October issue of the *Crisis*.

The results of an investigation of an alleged "uprising" of Phillips County, Arkansas, appeared in the *Chicago Daily*

* See *Crisis* for May for an account of the investigator's findings.

News of October 18, *The Nation* of December 6, *The Survey* of December 13 and the *New York Age* of October 25.

In several instances lynchings have been reported which the Association has been unable to verify on account of lack of funds to send an investigator to the spot. Such cases have been reported from Eudora, Ark.; Hawkinsville, Ga. (2); Edgefield, S. C.; Vicksburg, Miss. (4).

Effects of Association's Publicity Work*

Forty-five of the press stories sent out to our regular press service were occasioned by our anti-lynching campaign. The most remarkable results of this publicity have to do with the uncovering of the lynching of Berry Washington, a seventy-two-year-old colored man who had shot and killed a white man while defending two colored girls from attacks by white ruffians who, under the influence of liquor, had invaded the colored settlement of Milan, Ga., in May. This affair had escaped publication except for three or four lines in a Macon, Ga., paper.†

In July, the Association sent a letter to the editors of a considerable number of newspapers calling their attention to the lynching of this seventy-two-year-old man while protecting womanhood and to the fact that nothing had been done about it although the victim had been taken out of jail by a mob, hanged to a post, shot to pieces and left hanging there for some hours and the colored inhabitants of the community had been forced out of their homes. The editor of the *Richmond Virginian* sent a copy of the Association's correspondence to Mr. Clark Howell, editor of the *Atlanta*

* Reference will be made in a succeeding section of the report (Chapter VII) to the Association's general publicity and educational work.

† See "A Lynching Uncovered," pamphlet publication of the N. A. A. C. P., for complete account of this incident.

Constitution, who in turn sent the papers to a trusted correspondent, a prominent citizen of Gray, Ga. The *Constitution's* correspondent corroborated the story and declared the whole thing to be a disgraceful occurrence deplored by all the good people of the section, but that they could do nothing because the local officials had refused to act and that "law and order were almost a thing of the past." As soon as Mr. Howell had received this report he published the whole matter, including the original letter from the National Association, in the *Atlanta Constitution*, accompanied by a strong editorial. Rewards of \$1,000 by Governor Dorsey and \$500 by a private citizen were offered. The occasion was used by the *Constitution* to press for reform in legal procedure asked for by Governor Dorsey to combat lynching, but without success.

Anti-Lynching Legislation

Anti-Lynching legislation has been proposed in several of the states. In Tennessee a state constabulary bill, sponsored as a bill to prevent lynching, was passed; in Wyoming a statute was enacted defining "five persons collected for purposes of violence" as a mob and punishing such mob by imprisonment or fines of from \$100 to \$1,000, or both. A penalty of \$5,000 against the county, to go to relatives, was included. In November, the Constitution of Kentucky was amended to give legislative power to provide for

"the removal from office of any sheriff, jailer, constable or peace officer for neglect of duty."

Anti-lynching bills were introduced but failed of passage in Georgia, Tennessee, (measures other than the state constabulary bill), West Virginia, Missouri and Texas.

Congressman L. C. Dyer again introduced a bill to make

lynching a federal offense, and Senator Charles A. Curtis, at the instance of the Association, introduced a resolution calling for an investigation by the Senate of mob violence and lynching. A similar bill for a House investigation was introduced by Mr. Dyer and one for investigation by a joint committee of both houses, by Representative Henry I. Emerson of Ohio.* Representative Emerson also proposed an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, authorizing Congress to enact legislation to prevent lynching.

Lynching Prevented

Prompt action of officers of the law prevented lynchings after mobs had gathered in Montgomery, Ala., Marietta, Ga., Bogalusa, La., Monticello, Miss., Oklahoma City, Okla., Newberry, S. C., Pittsburg, Pa., Morgan County, W. Va., Wilmington, Del., Laurel, Miss., and Knoxville, Tenn., the latter being the case of Maurice Mays which was the occasion for the so-called Knoxville riot.†

BRAVERY OF A MISSISSIPPI SHERIFF

George B. Alexander, sheriff of Washington County, Mississippi, having been informed that a Negro convicted of murder had been granted a new trial and would be returned to the county for trial, replied to the Governor's request as to whether he wished the defendant removed to another county, so admirably that we include his letter as a model for others to follow:

"I have been asked by the Governor of the State if I wished to remove Williams from the county for safe keeping or if I desired assistance from him in the protection of him. I have replied that I did not wish to remove the Negro and that I need no outside help to protect him. While I appre-

* Hearings have been held on the Curtis and Dyer bills in January, 1920.

† Admittedly an incomplete record.

ciate the motives of humanity on the part of the Governor which inspired his action, I would have considered the adoption of either course a reflection upon the citizenship of Washington County, indicating that such citizenship contemplated lawless mob violence and murder. I would further consider it a reflection upon myself as a sworn officer charged with the duty of upholding the law, indicating that I was either unable or unwilling to do my duty. Washington County, in my opinion, represents the best citizenship of the South, the kind of citizenship which governs by law, not by murder. With absolute confidence I appeal to that citizenship to render obedience to the laws which it has created and with the enforcement of which it is charged and upon which rests our civilization.

No friends of mine, and I count the citizens of Washington county my friends, will attempt to take a prisoner out of my hands, and no man who is not a friend of mine and of law and order can do it.

GEORGE B. ALEXANDER,
Sheriff.”*

National Conference on Lynching

Upon the initiative of the National Association, the first National Conference on Lynching was held in New York on May 5 and 6. A group of distinguished citizens of both races and sexes, but very largely consisting of leading white men and women, joined in calling the Conference “to take concerted action against lynching and lawlessness wherever found and to consider what measures should be adopted to abate them.”†

The spirit of the Conference was indicated in the opening address of the presiding officer, Mr. Moorfield Storey, President of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who said:

“This Conference has been called for the purpose of considering what measures should be adopted to end the barbarous practice of lynching. It is not sectional, it is not partisan, it is American. The signers of the call fairly represent every shade of opinion in this country. As Republicans,

* A letter to the *New Republic* from Mr. W. A. Percy of Greenville, Miss., printed in issue of August 20, 1919.

† The names of the signers of the Call for the Conference and of the Address to the Nation (on lynching and mob violence) which followed the Conference, are given in Appendix II, page 94.

we have Charles Evans Hughes, Elihu Root and many others that might be named; as Democrats, we have Attorney-General A. Mitchell Palmer, Governor Dorsey and others; representing the clergy we have Cardinal Gibbons, the honored head of the Catholic Church of this country, and Bishop Gailor of Tennessee; and so I could go on, naming senators, representatives, governors, bishops, presidents of colleges, teachers from the South and the North, the East and the West; there is no sectional boundary which confines them. They are from all parts of the country and from all parties, and from all denominations. They are united in one thing and that is that the practice of lynching disgraces our country and threatens the continuance of our institutions.

"We come together as Americans; not to apportion the blame but to find a remedy; not to deal with the past but with the future. We know what the causes are and we know what the facts are. They are matters of record. The question is, what can we do to unite all the forces of law and order and of Christianity in this country in a movement to make life and liberty secure for every citizen, securing for every man charged with crime a fair trial."

The principal speakers of the Conference were Hon. Charles Evans Hughes, former Governor of New York and former associate justice, United States Supreme Court; Hon. Emmet O'Neal, ex-Governor of Alabama; Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Honorary President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, since deceased; General John H. Sherburne of the 167th Field Artillery, 92nd Division; Rabbi Stephen S. Wise; Dean William Pickens of Morgan College, Baltimore; *Mr. James Weldon Johnson and Mr. Storey.

"Address to the Nation" on Lynching

Pursuant to a resolution of the National Conference on Lynching, an Address to the Nation was drafted and signed by some 141 signers, among whom were Attorney General Palmer, the governors of seven states and three ex-governors, three former attorney generals of the United States, ex-President Taft, Elihu Root, Charles Evans Hughes, the president of the American Bar Association, many presidents of leading uni-

* Became Associate Field Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, February 1, 1920.

versities and twenty leading white Southerners, one governor included.

Twenty-four thousand copies of this Address were sent out all over the country and to the press, principally to further a recommendation of the National Conference on Lynching and of the Address that "they (the signers of the Address) urge upon the Congress of the United States nation-wide investigation of lynching and mob murder to the end that means may be found to end this scourge."

Efforts to Secure Congressional Investigation of Lynching

The National Association prepared a brief on "Why Congress Should Investigate Race Riots and Lynching" which was presented to the Judiciary Committee of both Houses and widely circulated in efforts to enlist support for the investigation of race rioting and lynching which the Association sought to secure. Other data were prepared and an active press and general publicity campaign initiated. Thousands of letters and names signed to petitions were poured in upon the Judiciary Committees, efforts being concentrated in the beginning upon the Senate Committee. The larger branches of the Association enlisted in the campaign, several of them staging large meetings, many of them securing the signatures of leading citizens, often governors and mayors, of their respective localities. As a result, an influential support was secured for the investigation but up to the end of the year the bills were still in committee in both houses.*

* During January, 1920, the Association took charge of hearings held by the Judiciary Committees of both houses at which the case for legislation by Congress was presented by the Association's spokesmen. The hearings before the House Committee have been printed (Hearings before the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, 66th Congress, 2d Session, on H. R. 259,4123 and 11873, January 29, 1920) and may be obtained upon application to the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C., or, in limited numbers, to the Association.

Mob Attack on the Association's Secretary

While in Austin, Texas, to consult the Governor, Attorney General and other officials about Association business, the Association's secretary was set upon by a mob led by the County Judge, Dave J. Pickle, and Constable Charles Hamby, and badly beaten. Governor Hobby, when questioned by wire by the Chairman of the Association's Board of Directors, replied:

"Shillady was the only offender in connection with the matter referred to in your telegram and he was punished before your inquiry came. Your organization can contribute more to the advancement of both races by keeping your representatives and their propaganda out of this State than in any other way."

Despite the peaceful and proper mission of the secretary (he did not even hold meetings or attempt to hold any) many southern papers approved the mob's action. Further, despite efforts to secure Texas counsel of standing to prosecute an action against the mobbists, none has yet been found who would take the case.*

* The Association has published an account of the mobbing and a statement of Mr. Shillady's mission to Texas in a brief pamphlet, which can be secured upon application.

III

RACE RIOTS

Serious mob outbreaks against Negroes and clashes between the races were reported from 26 cities.* The most spectacular of these outbreaks and riots were those occurring in Washington, D. C.; Chicago; Omaha, Nebraska; Knoxville, Tennessee (the latter two were in reality attempts at lynching which precipitated the race riots which followed); Longview, Texas (also an outgrowth of a lynching); and the widely heralded "uprising against whites" at Elaine, Phillips County, Arkansas. Serious riots occurred also at Charleston, S. C.; Norfolk, Va.; Philadelphia and Bisbee, Arizona.

Washington and Chicago†

Six persons were killed outright in the Washington riots, from July 19 to July 23. These riots were begun and carried on by uniformed soldiers and sailors. Fifty persons were seriously injured and a hundred or more less seriously wounded. Order was restored only by the intervention of United States troops. The Chicago riots, occasioned by the killing of a colored boy at a bathing beach and the refusal of a policeman to interfere or to make arrests, lasted six days (July 27—August 1) during which 38 persons were killed and hundreds

* Only the more serious of such outbreaks and clashes are mentioned. There were a number of additional race clashes of a minor nature, which we have excluded.

† The work of the Association in legal defense of Negro riot victims and defendants is summarized on pages 50-51.

injured. Houses were wrecked and burned and mobs roamed the streets unchecked by local police until troops called out by the Governor assumed charge of maintaining order.

Omaha, Neb.

At Omaha, on September 28, a mob lynched and burned a Negro, hanged the Mayor, who had attempted to prevent the lynching, burned the new county court house, wrecked and looted shops and seriously injured 50 or more citizens, three persons being killed outright in the rioting. The presence of federal troops was necessary to check the savagery of the rioters and re-establish civil government.

Knoxville, Tenn.

At Knoxville, on August 30, a mob stormed the Knox County jail in efforts to lynch a Negro prisoner, fired on officers of the law, liberated 16 white prisoners, several of them convicted murderers, looted the living quarters of the sheriff and stole stocks of confiscated whiskey. The mob then wrecked and looted shops and invaded the colored residence district. In this case, also, troops were necessary to restore order. Seven persons were killed and two or more injured.

Longview, Tex., and Norfolk, Va.

Four or more men were killed at Longview on July 10, when a white mob descended on the Negro residence district in efforts to drive colored men out of the city. Houses were burned and martial law had to be invoked. Six persons were killed at Norfolk, Va., on July 21, necessitating the suspension of a reception to home-coming Negro troops and the calling out of marines and sailors to assist the police in quelling the mob.

Charleston, S. C., Bisbee, Ariz., and Philadelphia, Pa.

At Charleston, S. C., on May 10, United States sailors led a mob in a race riot until martial law was declared, scores being injured and at least one death resulting. At Bisbee, Arizona, on July 3, clashes occurred between local police and members of the Tenth United States Cavalry (colored) whose commander, Lieut.-Colonel F. S. Snyder (white) charged that local officials had deliberately sought to aggravate the Negro troopers. Five persons were shot. A race riot at a carnival in Philadelphia on July 7, resulted in eight arrests and one man being taken to the hospital.

Phillips County, Arkansas

Early in October, the report was spread broadcast that Negroes of Phillips County, Arkansas, had organized to "massacre" the whites. Federal troops were called in to suppress the "massacre." It is significant, however, that five whites were killed and some twenty-five to fifty Negroes. Among the Negroes killed were four Johnson brothers, one of them a successful dentist who owned a three-story building in Helena, another a prominent Oklahoma physician who had come to Helena on a visit. These men were returning from a squirrel hunt when they were shot by a mob after having been arrested (one of them had shot an officer when they discovered they were trapped).

FARCICAL TRIALS HELD

Hundreds of Negroes, reported by the press as 800, were rounded up by the federal troops and 150 to 200 of them detained. Within a month of the outbreak 94 Negroes were put on trial at Helena. The trials lasted only five days.

Twelve were condemned to death and 80 were sentenced to imprisonment from twenty-one years to one year.* Five of those condemned to death were tried in one proceeding, the jury being out six minutes when it brought in a verdict of guilty. The day before the trial counsel was provided for these ninety-four men by the court but these counsel did not consult with their clients, put no witnesses on the stand and did not address the jury in behalf of their clients. No change of venue was asked despite the excitement and prejudice which would exist in the county where this affair had occurred within so short a time before the trials; nor was any Negro summoned for jury duty despite the fact that there was a considerable number of qualified Negro citizens who could have been summoned. Further, in the case of the five men condemned to death and tried in a single proceeding, counsel did not ask for a severance and a separate trial for each defendant, as was their right under the law. Not only was the trial itself a case of railroading men who were prejudged guilty before they were tried, but the whole affair proved to be a gigantic miscarriage of justice.

This case has been fully written up in *The Nation* for December 6 ("Massacring Whites" in Arkansas—by Walter F. White) and in *The Crisis* for December, 1919 (The Real Causes of Two Race Riots.)

LURID CHARGES MADE

Early press reports charged that a plot had been hatched, led by a white man, U. S. Bratton of Little Rock, Ark., or one of his sons, for "social equality" and to take over the land of white men after the owners had been massacred. Investigation shows that a group of Negro farmers had organized to

* Fifty-four in the first five days and 26 more within two weeks

secure settlements from land owners under the name of the Progressive Farmers and Household Union of America, which later became the Farmers and Labor Household Union of America, an organization incorporated under the laws of Arkansas. Literature of the organization reads that it is for the purpose of "advancing the intellectual, material, moral, spiritual, and financial interests of the Negro race." Applicants for membership had to answer under oath such questions as "Do you believe in God?" "Do you attend church?" "Do you believe in courts?" and "Will you defend this Government and her Constitution at all times?"

Sixty-eight Negroes, who alleged that they had not received settlements from the plantation owner on whose plantation they were living, had met a representative of Bratton and Bratton, attorneys of Little Rock, at Ratio, Ark. This meeting was for the purpose of employing this legal firm of white lawyers either to secure a voluntary settlement from the plantation owner or to bring suit in the courts, as the law firm had done in many other similar cases.

In the meantime, Negroes were meeting in a church near Hoop Spur, a small community, some ten miles away. Some firing took place and a special agent of the Missouri Pacific Railway, W. D. Adkins, was shot. Press reports say that Adkin's automobile broke down in front of the church and that while it was being repaired he and his party were fired into and Adkins killed. Negroes say, on the other hand, that this special agent and a deputy sheriff, who accompanied him, fired into the church.

A "Committee of Seven" consisting of the county judge, the sheriff, the mayor of Elaine and four others, some of them planters, took charge of affairs. The Governor came with troops and the hue and cry went abroad, "Negro insurrection!"

MOVE FOR NEW TRIALS

Since the trials and convictions, eminent Arkansas counsel have been secured for the convicted men and efforts begun to set aside the verdicts of the Phillips County juries and to secure new trials. The Arkansas Supreme Court has granted appeals in the cases of the twelve men condemned to death. Among the allegations made by counsel in asking for new trials, in addition to the failures to safeguard the Negroes' rights previously mentioned, were that torture of a "third degree" character was used to compel the men, while in prison and without counsel, to testify in accordance with the desires of the authorities and their prosecutors. Arrangements have been made to carry these cases, including those of the men under prison sentences, to the Supreme Court of the United States if necessary, in order to secure to them a fair trial under the laws of the land.

The Ku Klux of 1919

Colored men who have dared to speak out for the rights of the Negro have, in some instances, suffered at the hands of mobs, and have been ordered out of town not to return. We cite a few examples. At Macon, Miss., several leading white men, including a banker, a deputy sheriff, and a city marshal, took out representative colored citizens and gave them a severe beating. These men were accused of having advised Negroes to demand better pay for their work. One of the men was flogged for saying "Yes" and "No" to a white man. All the men, after the beating, were ordered to leave town.

The colored Mayor of Hobson City, Ala., a Negro settlement, having been threatened by white men with death unless he left town, gave up his position and came North. Two colored men, prominent in the Branch of the Association at

Anderson, S. C., have been driven out and forbidden to return. One of these was for thirty years a respected school teacher in the community. Montgomery, Ala., has expelled some of its most influential colored citizens, one of them having incurred the displeasure of a white man and the others having gone upon his bond.

Colored men active in the Association's Branches in small Texas towns have been forced to leave town or to cease their activities in behalf of Negro citizenship. Colored citizens of Edgefield, S. C., were run out of that town.

It was reported at the Cleveland Conference of the Association that at Bogalusa, La., "men who had violated no law but who had refused to advise colored people not to join labor unions were visited by a committee of the district who told them that they would give them so many minutes to get out of the city, some an hour, some twenty minutes, some six hours, depending upon their condition." The culmination of the Bogalusa trouble, which continued for months, was the killing of four white men and the wounding of another in an attack upon labor union men who were protecting a Negro (Saul Dechus or Sol Dakus) by members of the so-called "Loyal Legion" of Bogalusa, an alleged employers' organization, which had been conducting a campaign against "radical agitators." Bogalusa is controlled by a large lumber company whose officials either are themselves officials of the town or who dictate who shall be elected. The manager for the company was mayor in 1919.

A colored man who purchased Pullman accommodations for his two daughters in a Mississippi city was taken from a train, beaten and ordered to leave the vicinity.

IV

THE COLORED SOLDIER

Complaints coming to the National Office concerning the discriminatory treatment of colored soldiers in the various camps and military hospitals have been numerous, and every effort has been put forth to secure better conditions. Notably among these have been complaints from Camp Upton in regard to the use of the hostess houses by colored soldiers and their friends, and with regard to general conditions from Camp Stewart, Va.; Camp Shelby, Miss.; Fort Oglethorpe, Ga.; Camp Mills, N. J.; Camp Devens, Mass.; Camp Eustis, Va.; Camp Jackson, S. C.; Camp McClellan, Ala.; Camp Alexander, Va.; Camp Meade, Md.; Camp Henry Knox, Ky.; the Walter Reed Hospital, Washington, D. C., and Base Hospital, Mineola, N. Y. Much of our work in behalf of these victims of race discrimination was accomplished through Mr. Emmet J. Scott, Special Assistant to the Secretary of War.

Aids Colored Family to Secure War Risk Insurance

Illustrative of the type of service rendered is the case of a colored soldier, who served in France and died at Camp soon after returning to the United States. It seemed impossible for his family to secure his insurance. A white lawyer wished to charge one hundred dollars to have this claim settled.

After considerable correspondence, the Association was notified that the matter had been adjusted and the soldier's family is now receiving \$57.50 per month, which will continue

for twenty years, when they shall have received the full amount, \$10,000, the insurance due them:

Camp Grant Case

The National Office, together with the Chicago Branch, has been interested in the cases of the fourteen colored soldiers at Camp Grant, Ill., who were charged with having attacked a white woman visitor to the camp. The court martial resulted in six of the soldiers being released. Of the remaining eight, it is thought that several will be condemned to death. There is also a possibility that two more will be released.

Houston Affair

A number of appeals have come to the Association asking that something be done in behalf of the members of the 24th Infantry, confined in Leavenworth Prison, as a result of the Houston affair. Through our Field Secretary, in conference with Mr. Emmett J. Scott, efforts were made to have the cases reopened by the War Department. The Association decided to wait until peace has been definitely declared and then to move for the pardon of these military prisoners.

Colored Officers and Men in New Army

Early in 1919 investigation was made of the facts regarding colored officers who wished to be retained in the regular army. The matter was energetically presented by personal representation to the War Department and taken up with one of the New York State Senators and with members of the Senate Committee on Military affairs. Decision "hung fire" due to uncertainty about future army plans.

The Association maintained touch with developments in Congress having to do with the proposed new army bills.

As no legislation was enacted during 1919, all that can be said is that a committee of the National Board of Directors is seeking (1920) to secure provision for a proportionate number of colored officers and men in whatever plan of army reorganization is finally adopted.

The American Legion

The American Legion, an association of veterans of the Great War, has refused to make any binding requirement upon state branches in regard to the admission of colored men. The Legion, organized at St. Louis in May, 1919, dodged the issue by giving each state the right to decide who shall be admitted to membership within its own borders. As a result colored members have not been admitted and charters have been refused local posts in the far South. At the first national convention of the Legion held in Minneapolis in November, a new constitution was to be adopted and a representative of the National Association drafted a clause to the effect that charters of posts were to be granted by the national committee of the Legion upon the recommendation of the state committee, but permitting an appeal to the national committee whenever a state committee refused a charter. The constitution was adopted without this clause, but one was included authorizing the suspension of state organizations by the national committee. The fight for further recognition of the colored soldier is being continued, but it is only fair to state that twelve colored delegates were present at the Minneapolis convention.

Colored Veteran Organizations

The organization of several bodies composed of colored veterans is to be noted, among which are the Grand Army of Americans, the League for Democracy, and the American Alliance.

V

FIGHTING THE COLOR LINE

On the Railroads

The United States Railway ticket office at Cleveland, Ohio, refused to sell a railroad ticket from Madison, Ala., to Cleveland, to a leading colored citizen of the latter city who wished to send it to his daughter, the clerk saying than an order had been issued by the Director General against such practice on the ground that it was "encouraging labor to come North." Through the combined efforts of the National Office, the Cleveland Branch, and Senator Harding and Representative Emerson of Ohio, the rule was abrogated so that prepaid tickets could be obtained at any ticket office.

Discrimination in Pullman service in interstate traffic continues. Two instances involving persons traveling under federal auspices are cited as illustrative: A colored soldier was put off a train for which he had a Pullman ticket, while en route from Washington, D. C., to New Orleans, La. Another young colored man was refused Pullman service after a ticket had been issued to him by the Federal Board for Vocational Education in order that he might go from Atlanta, Ga., to Cincinnati, Ohio.

In the Schools

Through the efforts of the Cleveland, Ohio, Branch attempts were defeated to exclude four colored girls from the dormitories at Oberlin College after they had won "preferred" dormitory assignments by drawing lots. Pressure was brought to bear to induce the girls not to accept dormitories but to

go out and look up "boarding houses" and after they had won fourteen "irreconcilables" left their dormitories and went to smaller houses.

Another case of discrimination in schools occurred in the School of Education at the University of Pennsylvania where four colored girls were not given the same opportunities for practice teaching as were given white girls. While the white girls were assigned to the High Schools of Philadelphia, only unsuccessful attempts were made to put the colored girls in one of the colored elementary schools in Philadelphia and in the Wilmington, Del., Colored High School.

White students of the Illinois College of Photography, at Effingham, Ill., objected to having a colored student in their midst. The young colored man in question did not fight the matter but was transferred to the University of Illinois.

Our Cincinnati Branch is in the midst of a fight against the establishment of a separate school for colored children.

In Eating Places

The most flagrant case of discrimination in a restaurant came to us through our District of Columbia Branch which reported that in the new court house of the District of Columbia which had just opened with eloquent orations on "Democracy," colored people were excluded from the restaurant. The investigator was plainly told that it was the order of the Court that no colored were to be served and that some day there would be a separate restaurant opened for colored people. Through the combined efforts of the National Office and the Branch the discrimination was stopped, Supreme Court Justice Walter I. McCoy writing us that "the person who runs the restaurant in the Court House of the District of Columbia has been notified by the Court that

all persons have the right to equal service therein." Later, a separate restaurant for colored was opened. Through Mr. Neval H. Thomas's efforts this was abolished and all discrimination ceased.

Similar discrimination in the restaurant of the Library of Congress has been protested but without conclusive result up to the time of going to press. The Association's field secretary was denied service when accompanied by white associates. The case has been presented to the Senators from New York and given publicity.

Cases of discrimination in restaurants have been fought and won by our branches at Lansing, Mich., Denver, Colo., and Cleveland, Ohio.

In the Theatre

Cases of discrimination in theatres reported to the National Office have been few this year.

In Syracuse, N. Y., a case was brought against a theatre which resulted in a verdict of \$100 for the plaintiff. The Attorney for the theatre company asked for a new trial, which was denied.

In Employment

Discrimination in employment during the past year seems to have been aimed particularly at colored men who left their civil service positions for the purpose of joining the army or the navy. These men, on returning from France, have found it most difficult, and at times impossible, to regain their former positions although it was clearly understood that men leaving the government service for military duty would be reinstated at the end of the war.

Labor unions continue to discriminate despite the recent

decision of the American Federation of Labor that Negroes should be admitted to all unions on the same basis as white workers, and that recommendation be made to all international unions for similar action. The National Office has received complaints of such discrimination by the International Longshoremen's Association of Key West, Fla., by organized employees of the Yazoo and Mississippi Valley Railroad, by the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers, and by workers at a Pensacola, Fla., shipbuilding plant. In these instances the white workmen went on strike, declaring they would not work with Negro workmen. In two cases, the Association was assured that the matter would be adjusted without discrimination against colored employees.

In Marshall, Texas, three Negro bricklayers were ordered by white workmen to leave town. The National Office communicated with the Mayor of the city, but received no response.

The International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and Oilers in convention at Washington, D. C., announced its intention to admit colored men to membership on terms of perfect equality. There were present at this convention thirty-odd colored delegates. The Association expressed its gratification at this democratic action by a communication sent to the convention.

A correspondent in Oklahoma explained the method of discrimination against colored men in certain labor unions in that state. The colored men, supposed to belong to the same unions as white men, affiliated with the whites only through committees—all decisions being made in the absence of the colored members.

At the time of the appointment of the first Industrial Conference by President Wilson to deal with industrial unrest, the National Association urged the President to

designate a Negro member, thus assuring that the interests of some 7,000,000 Negro workers might have a spokesman. After the disbanding of the first Conference, representatives of employers, employees and the public, and the announcement of plans for a second Conference, this recommendation was again made to the President. (No such appointment was made, however).

Residential Segregation

Despite the segregation decision of 1917* reports still come to us of organized attempts to keep colored people out of certain neighborhoods. Notably in Chicago and Kansas City, Mo., the agitation has been carried on by organized white property owners, whereas in Oklahoma City a segregation ordinance was passed. Through the efforts of the Oklahoma City Branch, a case in court to prevent a colored man from moving into a house which he had purchased in a white neighborhood was withdrawn. The colored man has moved into his house and has had no further trouble.

From Baltimore, Md., come reports of efforts to drive colored people out of these "forbidden" neighborhoods. In one instance where a house had been sold to a colored family upon the removal of the white tenants, the house was badly damaged; in another case the house was stoned and several windows smashed after the colored family had moved in; and in still another case four houses in the same section were bombarded.

White residents of Huntington, Ind., Corbin, Ky., and Lemmon, S. D., have declared that colored people shall not reside within their borders. The Colored Baptists of Pulaski, Va., were refused permission to build on a plot bought two

* See Eighth and Ninth Annual Report, N. A. A. C. P. and *Crisis* for December, 1917.

years ago especially for this purpose because so doing would be objectionable to the whites.

The last word in color discrimination seems to have been spoken at Vinita, Okla., where a colored woman was unable to hire a hearse for the funeral of her son, since colored people were not allowed to use the same hearse as white people and the one which was formerly hired to colored people had worn out.

VI

LEGAL DEFENSE

Despite many requests for legal assistance of the most appealing character, the Association, up to the latter part of the year, was able to handle only such cases as required no considerable expenditure nor the engagement of special counsel. Up to that time the Association has been compelled almost wholly to rely upon the volunteer service of its Legal Committee, busy members of the National Board of Directors, for such legal aid as could be given or to limit its aid to such advice as could be given by the executive staff, after consultation with the Legal Committee.

Advice was too often ineffective. Money was needed and funds had to be conserved. Some important legal work was done, however, and of this we report briefly.

Chicago

In addition to investigational and publicity work in connection with the Chicago riots, the Association took active steps in co-operation with its Chicago Branch to see that adequate legal defense was provided for all colored defendants arrested in connection with the riots. It became evident immediately following the riots that a larger number of colored men than whites were being arrested.

The Chairman of the Legal Committee, the Secretary and other members of the staff went to Chicago and consulted with the Legal Committee of the Branch, headed by Judge E. O. Brown, with the Chicago Peace and Protective Association, an organization formed at the time of the riots,

with the Cook County Bar Association, an organization of colored lawyers; with officials of the Chicago Urban League; with the Y. M. C. A. and others interested. The "Joint Committee to Secure Equal Justice for Colored Riot Defendants" was formed and through the activities of the legal committees of the National Association and the Chicago Branch, Hon. S. S. Gregory, a former president of the American Bar Association and a leading Chicago lawyer, agreed to act as chief counsel in the defense of colored defendants without fee, assisted by Senator James T. Barbour who was employed as managing counsel. Associated with these lawyers were the members of the Cook County Bar Association, already referred to, acting under a committee appointed by that Association for the purpose. Some thousands of dollars were pledged to the defense by the National Office of the Association, dependent upon the amount raised by the Joint Committee, and the amount needed for the purpose. As a result of the legal work done, 60 colored defendants were tried of whom 46 were acquitted or their cases nolle prossed and 14 convicted. Of the convicted 6 were fined in amounts from \$1.00 to \$25.00. Seven were fined and given prison sentences for varying terms.* The cases of four who were given life sentences are being appealed.

Five white men were tried with the following result: Two were sentenced to one year imprisonment and fined \$100 each; one was sentenced to three months imprisonment; one was fined \$100; and the case of the fifth is pending after the jury disagreed.

Washington

Immediately after the Washington riots the Legal Committee of the District of Columbia Branch went to the Police

* One, 60 days; one, 9 months; one, 20 years; four, life.

Court and offered its services to all colored defendants who were not provided with counsel. It was found that forty-six colored men and six white men had been arrested for carrying concealed weapons. The disparity in the number of persons of the two races arrested was called to the attention of the Chief of Police; also that the maximum sentence was being meted out to colored men by the Judge who was sitting at the time. The committee was able to convince the judge of the difference between a "pistol-toter" and one who, like the colored men, provided themselves with pistols to protect themselves after attacks had been made upon them. An investigation was ordered with the result that nineteen of the forty-six men were put on probation and the maximum penalty imposed in only one case.

Omaha

In Omaha the local Branch of the Association joined in defending Negroes who were unjustly accused and who otherwise would have had no legal defense. Five hundred and eleven dollars was spent by the Branch on these cases.

Caldwell Case*

The legal battle fought throughout all of the year 1919 by the Anniston-Hobson City, Alabama Branch, assisted by the National Office and the Legal Committee of the District of Columbia Branch, to secure to Sergeant Edgar C. Caldwell, a colored soldier, who had been condemned to death, a fair trial and protect his constitutional rights, involved legal principles of the most important and far-reaching character. The right of the State of Alabama to try Caldwell was chal-

* *The Crisis* for January, 1920, contains a full account of the case up to December, 1919.

lenged and the prior jurisdiction of the federal government over the person of a soldier in time of war, was maintained, the case reaching the United States Supreme Court for final decision and occasioning great interest among lawyers.

The facts of the case are summed up below:

Late in 1918, Sergeant Caldwell was ejected from a street car in Anniston, Alabama, accused of not paying his fare. This accusation Caldwell denied. A press despatch published at the time said that he was seated in and refused to vacate the section reserved for whites. This charge disappeared later and was evidently erroneous. In a fracas which followed his forcible ejection, during which Caldwell was being roughly handled, he fired, killing the motorman and wounding the conductor. Caldwell was arrested by an unarmed member of the military police and turned over to the civil authorities. It was later contended by his counsel (a contention finally agreed to by the War Department, as will later appear) that Caldwell should have been tried by the military authorities, as he was in army service when the offense was committed.

In a preliminary proceeding lasting ninety minutes he was indicted by the civil authorities for murder in the first degree and the case pressed for early trial. The Anniston-Hobson City Branch, under the leadership of Rev. R. R. Williams, immediately proceeded to raise funds and engaged as counsel, State Senator Charles D. Kline and B. M. Allen, leading white attorneys of Anniston and Birmingham, Alabama, respectively. Their unremitting efforts to protect Caldwell's legal rights, the able assistance given them by James A. Cobb and his associates of the Legal Committee of the District of Columbia Branch and the issues involved, mark this case as a memorable one.

Conviction and a death sentence resulted from the trial by the lower court. A stay of execution was secured and the case appealed to the Supreme Court of Alabama. The Supreme Court, after six months' delay, affirmed the decision of the lower court but later granted a rehearing. Time was granted the Attorney-General of the United States to look into the facts of the case. This official's interest was enlisted through an appeal to the President on the ground that, as a soldier in the army of the United States, Caldwell was not amenable to the Alabama courts, but should be tried by military authorities. Senator Kline, attorneys Cobb and Houston and Mr. L. M. Hershaw of the District of Columbia Branch and Special Assistant to the Secretary of War Scott held many interviews with the officials of the Department of Justice, with Secretary Baker and the Adjutant-General of the War Department, and with Mr. Tumulty, President Wilson's secretary. Through the thorough legal arguments presented, notably those of Mr. Cobb, the reluctance of the Attorney-General's office to intervene was overcome. The Adjutant-General's contention that since Caldwell had been discharged from the army during the interval between his first trial and the time in question, the military authorities would have no jurisdiction to try him was met by Mr. Cobb, by the argument that granting this, it were better for Caldwell to go free than to be executed upon a sentence without legal standing, since this would amount to legal lynching.

Mr. Cobb was able to cite a Kentucky precedent which had escaped the Adjutant-General, wherein a white soldier was taken from the jurisdiction of the Kentucky courts under similar circumstances. Finally it was decided that technicalities should be waived in favor of substantive justice and the United States Attorney at Birmingham, Alabama, was instructed to appear in *amicus curiae*, when Caldwell's lawyers had applied to the Federal courts for a writ of habeas corpus. In a brief filed by the United States Attorney-General it was contended that if guilty, manslaughter was the most serious offense which could be sustained by the facts of the record. The sitting Federal judge denied the writ of habeas corpus but issued a certificate of reasonable doubt, thus insuring an appeal to the United States Supreme Court.

While Caldwell's ultimate fate is in doubt, all concerned in his defense are entitled to unlimited praise for the efforts made to secure a fair trial. As we go to press, we learn that the case was argued before the United States Supreme Court on March 4th and 5th, 1920, by Messrs. Henry E. Davis, former United States Attorney, and James A. Cobb of N. A. A. C. P. national counsel, and Senator Kline, for Caldwell, and the Attorney-General of Alabama and two associates for the State of Alabama.

The Pink Franklin Case

The parole "during good behavior" of Pink Franklin, in January, 1919, by Governor Richard I. Manning of South Carolina, marks the final chapter in a fight begun nearly nine years ago by the National Association to secure the freedom of Franklin, a young Negro farm-hand who was tried in South Carolina during the summer of 1910 for killing a white constable who broke into his cabin at three o'clock in the morning to arrest him for breaking an "agricultural contract." This case is of unusual interest as it was the first legal redress case undertaken by the Association, then in its infancy. The following facts regarding the case are quoted from the first annual report of the Association, published January 1, 1911:

"Our legal redress work was inaugurated last summer by the presentation to Governor Martin F. Ansel, of South Carolina, of a petition for pardon from the death sentence of Pink Franklin, a plantation hand who had

violated a so-called 'agricultural contract' (these contracts constituting the peonage laws of most of the Southern States), and who shot the constable sent to arrest him two months after the offense was committed. This constable, H. H. Valentine by name, broke into Franklin's cabin at three o'clock in the morning, with drawn pistol, without announcing that he was an officer of the law, and Franklin shot him in defense of his home. On January 6, 1911, Governor Ansel commuted Franklin's sentence to life imprisonment, but the Association will not cease its efforts to free Franklin from prison."

After saving Franklin's life the Association continued its fight to secure his release from prison. In this it was aided by certain white citizens of South Carolina who did much in the latter stages of the long fight, but who desire to remain anonymous and ask that they merely be known as men, who "loving justice and having sympathy for the weak and lowly, interested themselves in the case." It was through the persistent efforts of these men that the final victory was won.

After the commutation of Franklin's death sentence to life imprisonment, the next successful step was the "commutation" of life sentence by the then Governor Cole Blease to ninety-nine years on the Orangeburg County chain-gang. The third and last step was Franklin's parole "during good behavior" which makes him practically a free man. Franklin's parole was the last official act of Richard I. Manning's second term as governor of South Carolina.

General Work

Because of local prejudice in certain instances, the Association refrains from reporting on certain pending cases, some of them of great importance, which it is defending and which must be left for a public accounting until after such cases have been completed.

During the year the Association advanced one hundred dollars to one branch to aid in appealing the case of a colored man who, it was felt, could be cleared of a serious charge if

competent counsel could be retained. Three hundred dollars was appropriated to the Anniston-Hobson City, Ala., Branch to aid in the defense of Edgar C. Caldwell, whose case is mentioned above.* During the month of December, \$5,738.27 was raised for a special legal defense fund.† Commitments for legal defense totalling some \$10,000 have been made up to the end of the year, although funds were not in hand for the purpose. These commitments were made, despite the lack of funds in hand because of the urgent need for action.

* Since January, 1920 (up to March 1), \$500 additional was appropriated for this case.

† Expenditures limited to the specific purpose for which money was raised and not available for general legal defense,

VII

EDUCATIONAL AND PUBLICITY WORK

More than 427,000 pieces of literature as compared with 130,000 pieces last year, were distributed to a selected mailing list and through the branches.* Some 56,000 pamphlets on general phases of the Association's educational work were included, also some 102,500 pieces of literature in connection with the anti-lynching campaign and some 268,500 pieces of literature more specifically in connection with branch organization work. We list below the titles of pamphlets and the number distributed where distribution exceeded 1,000 of any pamphlet.

The Negro Question. An Address by Moorfield Storey.	10,550
Reconstruction and the Negro. Reprint from <i>The Crisis</i>	9,448
A Half Century of Freedom.....	2,099
Africa in the World Democracy.....	2,460
Annual Report for 1917 and 1918.....	6,772
The Future of Africa.....	1,922
Has the Emancipation Act Been Nullified.....	2,072
How the N. A. A. C. P. Began.....	14,000
Leaving It to the South.....	1,678
Reconstruction and The Ku Klux in So. Carolina.....	2,408
The Negro as a Soldier.....	1,490
The Negro in American Medicine.....	1,454
Will Ohio Make Good (A Civil Rights Argument)....	3,000
Who's Who in the N. A. A. C. P.....	1,350

* Eight hundred and eighty dollars was received in payment for literature purchased and for *Branch Bulletin* subscriptions against a total expense for printing, exclusive of postage, of \$6,674. The above account does not include *The Crisis* which is accounted for on pages 63-70 and is self-sustaining.

Lynching

Address to the Nation.....	24,000
A Lynching Uncovered.....	3,135
Burnings at Stake.....	6,200
Laws Against Lynching.....	5,375
Lynchings of May, 1918. Reprint from <i>The Crisis</i>	1,125
“Massacring Whites” in Arkansas. Reprint from <i>The Nation</i>	1,046
President Wilson’s Pronouncement on Lynching and Mob Violence.....	1,129
The Senator Curtis Resolution.....	10,000
The Fight Against Lynching.....	1,550
The Mobbing of John R. Shillady.....	6,000
Twelve Months of Lynching.....	10,000
Three Thousand Will Burn Negro.....	18,182

In addition to the pamphlets listed above, nearly 150,000 copies of a small folder summarizing the principal achievements and purposes of the Association and nearly 120,000 other “organization” pamphlets were distributed, also some 700 copies of the Association’s publication, “Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States,” were sold or sent out.

Branch Bulletin

Twenty-seven thousand four hundred and thirty-nine copies of the *Branch Bulletin* were circulated as compared with about 20,000 copies last year. The *Branch Bulletin* has been reduced in price to twenty-five cents per year and second-class postage rates were secured in September. In the pages of this publication the executive office has discussed with the branches matters of general and special importance and published monthly reports of the work of the branches.

Press Publicity

An unusual amount of press publicity was secured during the year. One hundred and thirty-four general press stories

were sent out to the press of the country, 45 of these being on lynching subjects and the remainder on other matters. Much favorable editorial comment for the Association itself and for the general cause which it represents was noted. The unusual number of race riots made questions affecting the Negro "good copy" for the newspapers and magazines, with the result that there was more publicity on the Negro question this year than in any year, we believe, since reconstruction days. The Association's publicity department took full advantage of the opportunities presented to it to bring the facts at its disposal before the general public, and may fairly claim credit for securing a more favorable hearing for the cause of Negro citizenship than has heretofore been achieved and for stimulating and occasioning much of the publicity that resulted.

The Association not only defended colored people and urged their cause but whenever a Governor or sheriff defended a Negro against a mob or a trades union admitted Negroes freely to membership, such acts were commended in press stories that were sent out from coast to coast.

Mr. Herbert J. Seligmann, a trained journalist, became Director of Publicity for the Association at the time of the National Conference on Lynching and has been a permanent member of the Association's staff since May.

Special Articles Contributed by the Staff

Perhaps the most remarkable and most gratifying fact of the year in connection with the Association's educational and publicity work has been the increasing recognition which has come to it from the magazines. In a number of cases the Association was asked to supply information and members of its staff to contribute articles. The Field Secretary continued his weekly editorial comment in the *New York Age* under the

caption, "Views and Reviews," thus reaching a considerable constituency of colored readers of this long established weekly. Special articles were contributed as follows:*

By the Chairman of the Board:

Justice for the Negro.—*The Evangelical Herald*, October.

The Gunpowder of Race Antagonism.—*American City*, September.

Is Mob Violence Texas' Solution?—*The Independent*, September.

By the Assistant Secretary:

"Massacring Whites," in Arkansas.—*The Nation*, December 6th.

Is the Negro Migrant a Failure?—*The Crisis*, December.

The Race Conflict in Arkansas.—*The Survey*, December 13th.

Truth About Arkansas "Massacre."—*New York Age*, October 25th.

Finds No Massacre Plot in Arkansas.—*Chicago Daily News*, October 18th.

Chicago and Its Eight Reasons.—*The Crisis*, October.

"Work or Fight" in the South.—*The New Republic*, March 1st.

* Books by members of the staff, completed or in preparation, will appear early in 1920 as follows:

"The Shadow," Mary White Ovington.

"Dark Water," W. E. B. Du Bois.

"Anthology of Negro Verse," James Weldon Johnson.

"The Negro Faces America," Herbert J. Seligmann.

Account of Trials (of alleged lynchers), at Tusculumbia, Ala.—New York *Evening Post*, February 19th.

By the Director of Publicity:

The Press Abets the Mob.—*The Nation*, October 4th.

Democracy and Jim-Crowism.—*The New Republic*, September 3rd.

What is Behind the Negro Uprisings.*—*Current Opinion*, September.

Race War?—*The New Republic*, August 13th.

Darkest Mississippi.—*The Crisis*, July.

Protecting Southern Womanhood.—*The Nation*, June 14th.

Everybody's Say-So.—*The Chicago Evening Post*, September 13th.

Chicago in Grip of Rising Fear.—*The New York Call*, August 3d.

Addresses and Conferences

The Association has been represented on the platform by the Chairman, the Secretary, the Assistant Secretary, the Field Secretary, and by its District Organizers and at a number of important national and other meetings, such as the National Conference of Social Work at Atlantic City, the Tuskegee Farmers' Conference, the Negro Labor Conference called at Washington by the United States Department of Labor, the Conference on Demobilization at New York, called by social welfare organizations, a conference on the Negro called by the Home Missions Council, the National Negro Business League, the annual meeting of the colored Knights of Pythias, the Fellowship of Reconciliation; also at the inauguration of the

* Title selected by *Current Opinion* editor, caption "Uprisings" not approved by writer.

President of, and the Readjustment Conference called by, Howard University.

During the Field Secretary's trip to the Pacific Coast branches the meetings were generally held in public buildings, often with the Mayor of the city presiding, and were in the nature of community meetings attended by many leading white people.

The following table shows the number (286) of addresses delivered and conferences held:

States	Mr. Shillady	Mr. Johnson	Mr. White	Miss Ovington	Mr. Bagnall	Mr. Towns
Alabama.....	1	..	..	..	..	..
California.....	..	17	..	..	..	..
Connecticut.....	..	3	1	2	..	..
District of Columbia.....	2	1	..	1	..	..
Florida.....	..	..	1	..	..	..
Georgia.....	2	..	1	..	..	32
Illinois.....	3	..	7	..	1	..
Indiana.....	..	..	9	..	1	..
Kansas.....	3	..	..	..	..	..
Kentucky.....	..	..	8	..	..	..
Louisiana.....	..	..	1	..	..	..
Maryland.....	2	..	..	..	..	..
Massachusetts.....	3	6	5	..	..	..
Michigan.....	..	..	5	..	23	..
Missouri.....	1	1	..	..	..	..
New Jersey.....	2	5	3	5	..	..
New York.....	11	20	8	3	..	..
North Carolina.....	..	..	4	..	..	..
Ohio.....	2	1	6	4	9	..
Oregon.....	..	1	..	..	..	..
Pennsylvania.....	1	4	12	5	..	..
Rhode Island.....	..	1	1	..	..	..
South Carolina.....	..	..	3	..	..	..
Tennessee.....	..	..	3	..	..	1
Texas.....	1	..	..	..	..	..
Virginia.....	..	11	8	..	..	..
Washington.....	..	5	..	..	..	..
Wisconsin.....	..	..	..	..	2	..
Canada.....	..	..	..	..	1	..
Total.....	34	76	86	20	37	33

Travel

Officers of the Association traveled a distance equal to more than four times around the world, on Association business during the year:

Mr. Shillady.....	22,709 miles
Mr. Johnson.....	19,556 "
Mr. White.....	25,954 "
Miss Ovington.....	3,274 "
Mr. Bagnall.....	11,241 "
Mr. Towns.....	5,620 "
Dr. Du Bois.....	12,715 "
Total.....	101,069 miles

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLICATIONS AND RESEARCH AND EDITOR OF "THE CRISIS"

The Crisis

The cash income of *The Crisis* for the year 1919 was \$70,502.92, as compared with \$57,367.02 during 1918. The total number of copies sold was 1,138,900, as compared with 902,250 during 1918.

Month	Copies Published	Copies Sold	Income
January.....	87,000	83,000	\$6,863.53
February.....	85,000	85,000	5,550.89
March.....	93,000	92,900	6,390.87
April.....	97,000	97,000	5,930.77
May.....	100,000	100,000	6,204.94
June.....	105,000	104,000	5,524.71
July.....	105,000	104,000	6,664.29
August.....	105,000	103,000	6,692.47
September.....	105,000	102,000	5,124.16
October.....	105,000	101,000	6,525.28
November.....	92,000	85,000	4,005.17
December.....	83,000	82,000	5,025.84
		1,138,900	\$70,502.92

The average monthly net-paid circulation of *The Crisis* for 1919 was 94,908 copies, as compared with 75,187 copies during 1918.

By calendar years the average monthly net-paid circulation of *The Crisis* has been as follows:

1910 (2 months).....	1,750 copies
1911.....	9,000 copies
1912.....	22,000 copies
1913.....	27,000 copies
1914.....	31,450 copies
1915.....	32,156 copies
1916.....	37,625 copies
1917.....	41,289 copies
1918.....	75,187 copies
1919.....	94,908 copies

The total income of *The Crisis* since its inception, November, 1910, has been \$274,790.94.

The total net-paid circulation of *The Crisis* by years since November, 1910, has been 4,462,899 copies, as follows:

Year	Income (Round Numbers)	Circulation
1910 (2 months).....	\$375	3,500 copies
1911.....	6,572	108,000 copies
1912.....	13,217	264,000 copies
1913.....	19,739	336,000 copies
1914.....	22,124	377,400 copies
1915.....	23,865	385,872 copies
1916.....	28,193	451,500 copies
1917.....	32,836	495,477 copies
1918.....	57,367	902,250 copies
1919.....	70,502	1,138,900 copies

A word should be said concerning the expense of publishing *The Crisis*: 55 per cent of our expense is for publishing, which includes paper, printing, engraving, binding, etc.; 23.9 per cent goes for salaries; 10.6 per cent for postage; 8.3 per cent for general expense, including rent; and 2.2 per cent for stationery and supplies.

Since January, 1916, *The Crisis* has been self-supporting. It pays all items of its cost, including publishing, rent, light, heat, etc., and the salaries of the Editor, Literary Editor, Business Manager, and nine clerks.

The Crisis circulates in every state in the Union, in all the insular possessions of the United States, and in most of the foreign countries. Its circulation in Africa is of especial interest and encouragement. *The Crisis* has a force of 800 agents.

Because of the publication of "Documents of the War," collected by the editor, in France, the May, 1919, issue of *The Crisis* was held seven days at the New York, N. Y., Post Office, pending a decision as to its privilege of passing through the mails. The issue, however, was finally released and *The Crisis* and these documents of prejudice against American Negroes by the American Army, received widespread advertisement and attention.

One hundred thousand copies of this edition were published and 100,000 copies were sold.

On account of the printers' strike in November, the size of *The Crisis* was reduced from forty-eight pages and cover to thirty-two pages and cover. The delay in publishing and additional expenditures affected our income somewhat. With the December issue, however, we carried out our plans, made previous to the restriction of the War Industries Board, of enlarging the size of *The Crisis* from forty-eight pages and cover to sixty-four pages and cover. The price of *The Crisis* with this issue was increased from One Dollar a Year and Ten Cents a Copy, to One Dollar and a half a Year and fifteen Cents a Copy.

The price of advertisements in *The Crisis* is \$80 per inside page.

The Pan-African Congress

From December 1, 1918, to April 1, 1919, Dr. DuBois was away from his office, serving as special representative of *The Crisis* at the Peace Conference; collecting first-hand

material to go into a History of the American Negro in the Great War; and as the representative of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, for the purpose of bringing to bear all pressure possible on the delegates at the Peace Table in the interest of the colored people of the United States and of the world.

As the representative of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Dr. DuBois summoned a Pan-African Congress, which met in Paris, February 19-21, 1919, in four sessions, and pressed the question of internationalization of the former German colonies.

The Congress cost \$750. Yet with this meagre sum, a Congress of fifty-eight delegates, representing sixteen different Negro groups, was assembled. This Congress passed resolutions which the entire press of the world has approved, despite the fact that these resolutions had two paragraphs of tremendous significance to the Negro.

"Wherever persons of African descent are civilized and able to meet the tests of surrounding culture, they shall be accorded the same rights as their fellow citizens; they shall not be denied on account of race or color, a voice in their own Government, justice before the courts, and economic and social equality according to ability and desert.

"Whenever it is proven that African natives are not receiving just treatment at the hands of any State or that any State deliberately excludes its civilized citizens or subjects of Negro descent from its body politic and cultural, it shall be the duty of the League of Nations to bring the matter to the attention of the civilized world."

Colonel House, of the American Peace Commission, received Dr. DuBois and assured him that he wished these resolutions presented to the Peace Conference. Lloyd George wrote Dr. DuBois that he would give the demands of the Congress "his careful consideration." The French

Premier offered to arrange an audience for the President and Secretary of the Congress. Portugal and Belgium, great colonial powers, offered complete co-operation. The League for the Rights of Man, which freed Dreyfus, appointed a special commission to hear not only of the African, but the facts as to the American Negro problem.

At this stage no more funds were available and Dr. DuBois had to return to the United States. Nevertheless, the "Pan African Congress" had been organized as a permanent body, with M. Diagne as president and Dr. DuBois as secretary; and there was proposed an international quarterly *Black Review*, to be issued in English, French, and possibly in Spanish and Portuguese.

The Tercentenary Celebration

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in October, 1917, appointed Dr. DuBois, chairman of the Tercentenary Committee, to commemorate the landing of the Negro race at Jamestown, Va., August, 1619, with Mr. James Weldon Johnson, secretary, and Dr. H. C. Bishop. Arrangements were begun for a National Celebration, when the Armistice and the Peace Treaty necessitated the Director's absence in Europe, four months. This and the unsettled conditions made any attempt at a National Celebration unwise. Local celebrations were, however, encouraged, and a general program and literature were sent to numbers of places.

Lectures

During the Director's connection with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, he has lectured as follows: 1911, 99 lectures, 35,000 auditors; 1912, 72 lectures, 25,467 auditors; 1913, 56 lectures, 41,000 auditors; 1914, 50 lectures, 21,750 auditors; 1915, 37 lectures, 14,800

auditors; 1916, 30 lectures, 13,000 auditors; 1917, 24 lectures, 12,000 auditors; 1918, 33 lectures, 15,000 auditors; 1919, 40 lectures, 23,350 auditors,—making a grand total of 464 lectures before 221,367 auditors, in nearly every state of the Union and in several foreign lands.

The lectures of 1919 were especially on the war and the treatment of colored soldiers. This attracted very large audiences in Philadelphia, Washington, Chicago, St. Louis, Detroit, and elsewhere.

Co-operation

A meeting was called at *The Crisis* office during August, 1918, and resulted in the formation of the Negro Co-operative Guild. Dr. DuBois was elected chairman.

As was published in the December, 1919 issue of *The Crisis*: Mr. B. M. Roddy of Memphis, Tennessee, who attended the meeting, returned home and entered upon an active campaign for the introduction of co-operation throughout the South—beginning with Memphis. He organized and incorporated The Citizens' Co-operative Stores. Within ninety days after receiving its charter, the organization had sold the entire \$5,000 worth of stock and was obliged to amend the charter and capitalize anew at \$15,000. By August 30, 1919, \$10,000 worth of this stock had been sold and now five stores with meat markets are being operated. Five or six other ventures have been started. Literature on Consumers' Co-operation is being sent broadcast and a study is being made of this movement.

The Brownies' Book

The publication of "The Brownies' Book," by Messrs. DuBois and Dill, will begin with the January, 1920, issue. This is a monthly magazine for children, but especially for

colored children. It will seek to teach Universal Love and Brotherhood for all little folk. The size of the "Brownies' Book" is thirty-two pages and cover, and the price, One Dollar and a Half a Year and Fifteen Cents a Copy.

Darkwater

The New York firm of publishers—Harcourt, Brace and Howe, of whose Board of Directors Mr. J. E. Spingarn is a member, will issue in January, 1920, "Darkwater," by the Director. It is a volume of essays and sketches, and similar to "The Souls of Black Folk."

The History of the Negro in the World War

The work on the History of the Negro in the World War has begun. The first volume, which will deal specifically with the accomplishments of the Negro soldier in this war, will, it is hoped, be published in the summer of 1920; two additional volumes are planned.

THE CRISIS BALANCE SHEET

December 31, 1919

ASSETS		LIABILITIES	
Cash in Bank.....	\$165.95	Paid in Advance:	
Petty Cash Fund.....	25.00	History of Negro in War.	\$83.25
Liberty Bonds.....	1,500.00	Brownies' Book.....	30.32
			\$113.57
Accounts Receivable:			
Advertisers... \$4,877.66			
Agents..... 10,991.61			
W. E. B. DuBois 7.01			
	15,876.28		
Deposit with N. Y. P. O...	225.00		
Books on Hand.....	252.66		
Paper on Hand.....	2,189.38		
Furniture.....	4,221.40	NET WORTH.....	24,342.10
	\$24,455.67		\$24,455.67

THE CRISIS REVENUE AND EXPENSE ACCOUNT

Year 1919

EXPENSES		REVENUE	
Publishing.....	\$34,142.98	Sales.....	\$46,970.80
Salaries.....	18,571.75	Subscriptions.....	17,583.01
General Expense.....	5,642.99	Advertising.....	11,716.73
Postage.....	6,793.55	Profit on Books Sold.....	1,930.80
Stationery and Supplies....	1,930.29		
Bad Debts and Adjustments	190.20		
Depreciation in Furniture..	222.18		
	\$67,493.94		
NET PROFIT.....	10,707.40		
	\$78,201.34		
			\$78,201.34

VIII

THE ASSOCIATION'S BRANCHES

No other organization, we are certain, can boast of more loyal, devoted workers than are the officers and active members of the Association's three hundred odd branches. In the topical summary given below much is necessarily omitted. Particularly we regret that we are unable to exhibit to the reader the enthusiastic, co-operative spirit of these branches and all that they promise for better Negro citizenship and thereby for better Americanism. None respond more promptly in time and money to every demand for service, than do the Branch members. Several branches now have headquarters and paid workers.

Legislation

Lansing had introduced in the legislature of Michigan a bill similar to the New York Civil Rights Bill. With the co-operation of the other Michigan Branches, particularly the Detroit Branch and District Organizer Bagnall, this bill passed. New Mexico, Providence, Pueblo, Col., Washington, Pa., were other branches which attempted to get effective civil rights legislation passed. Wheeling, W. Va., failing to secure a city ordinance, has planned to push a bill through the state legislature. The Ohio Branches, through a special conference committee, worked energetically on this legislation, but were disappointed. Pueblo and Denver co-operated in suppressing a bill prohibiting intermarriage between the races,* while

* The Association, as is well known, opposes anti-intermarriage legislation on the ground that to prohibit intermarriage is to assert the racial inferiority of the Negro and to open the door wider for violation of Negro womanhood.

Nashville, Tenn., addressed the Governor in behalf of a constabulary bill which has since been enacted into a law. In anti-lynching legislation the Branches have petitioned their respective representatives in Congress. The Texas branches held a conference with the Governor in the interest of a state bill against lynching.

Atlanta has shown what a southern branch can do in city legislation activities by increasing the colored registration from 700 to 3,000 names. Using this vote solidly in the recent city election, it succeeded in relieving the deplorable school conditions in Atlanta, thus securing a new grammar school and definite pledges of another grammar school and a new high school for colored pupils.

Because of a similar increase in registration secured by the Columbia, S. C., Branch, four men were called for jury duty in Columbia. Asheville, N. C., encouraged her men in registering because of her interest in a school bond issue. Birmingham, Ala., and Falls Church, Va., are now carrying on registration campaigns while Boston is promoting good citizenship by encouraging naturalization of foreign colored people.

Education

Much attention was given to the conditions of the schools in various cities. Better schools in rural districts was an object of Wilmington, Del., Frankfort, Ky., and New Orleans; Tucson, Ariz., and Asheville, N. C., asked for more and better buildings; St. Rose, La., secured a five months session which encouraged her to work for eight months; Wharton, Tex., laid plans for three new buildings; Rome, Ga., reformed sanitary arrangements in one of her schools; the District of Columbia has been battling with the unequal distribution of school appropriations between white and colored schools,

while Ypsilanti, Mich., fought against a separate school. To stimulate a desire for education in their communities has been the aim of the Falls Church, Va., Plainfield, N. J., and Rome, Ga., Branches, and St. Paul, Minn., has taken a survey of the children in the high and grammar schools. Des Moines, Ia., by forming a Parents' and Teachers' Association, has tried to bring about a closer relation between schools and parents. One of the outstanding victories in education is the placing of colored teachers in the Charleston, S. C., schools in which the Charleston and Columbia Branches co-operated.

Discrimination

The Branches in the different parts of the country report numerous cases of discrimination. Columbus, O., secured action in the case of a nurse who was refused for duty in one of the camps on account of color. Los Angeles, Cal., won an important victory in obtaining the admission of colored girls to the County Hospital Training School despite the opposition of the nurses. Discrimination in the courts was a matter of concern to Pueblo, Col., Wilmington, Del., and Danville, Va. Cleveland, O., succeeded in preventing the establishment of a separate Detention Home for colored girls. There were many cases of discrimination in restaurants, stores, bath houses and the like in which Orange, N. J., and Toledo, O., were particularly active, the latter handling 24 cases of which 18 secured satisfaction. The discrimination in bath houses, municipal and private, was investigated by Salt Lake, Utah, Toledo, O., and Sacramento, Cal. Lansing, Mich., tested the Civil Rights Bill on a Chinese restaurant and Grand Rapids, Mich., has now under consideration the case of the Congregational ministers who were ejected from a cafeteria. Notable in the restaurant cases is the fight which

the District of Columbia made upon the discrimination in the restaurant of the Court House, the result of which is that discrimination has been abolished. Providence, R. I., checked discrimination in a public institution and Los Angeles, Cal., handled a civil service discrimination case.

The District of Columbia continues to investigate discrimination in the employment of the government. Correspondence with the chiefs of bureaus has brought forth the statement that they do not practice discrimination in appointing colored clerks from civil service eligibles.

Discrimination in travel has been investigated by Charleston, W. Va., Danville, Va., San Antonio, Tex., Bowling Green, Ky., and New York City. Discrimination in the Y. M. C. A., was investigated by New York, Lincoln, Neb., and Pueblo, Col. Many Branches were uniformly successful in having objectionable signs removed; namely, Pueblo, Col., Cleveland, O., Portland, Ore., Denver, Col., Ottumwa, Ia., and Providence, R. I. Wheeling, W. Va., and Henderson, Ky., protested against such signs. A pride in race has been displayed by all of the Branches who have been on the alert to oppose everything which would tend to belittle the Negro.

Kansas City, Mo., and Oklahoma City have both had to fight attempts at housing segregation. In Kansas City the burning of homes and the dynamiting of a church were used to intimidate Negroes.

Crime

There have been four cases which Branches have investigated in which white men killed colored men. Mercer County, Pa., Bakersfield, Cal., District of Columbia, and Charleston, W. Va., are working toward the end that these white men shall be punished for their crimes. Through the continued efforts of the Pueblo, Col., Branch, the death

sentence imposed upon a colored man for killing the turnkey of the jail in which he was confined was changed to life imprisonment; his wife was freed of the charge of murder brought against her for having passed the weapon with which he killed the jailer. Dublin, Ga., which was the scene of four murders in several days, distinguished itself by its Branch which bravely guarded the house, in which a wounded colored man lay, from the attacks of a threatening mob. Savannah, Rome, and Atlanta interested themselves in saving two colored men who killed white men in self defense. District of Columbia is investigating a case in which a white policeman killed a colored man under the pretence of self protection. Chattanooga, Tenn., now has a murder case in which the accused colored man claims he can prove an alibi. Omaha, Neb., Orange, N. J., Petersburg, Va., District of Columbia, and Nashville, Tenn., all had cases of criminal assault on colored women by white men. One of the cases of criminal assault on white women reported during the riots was investigated by the District of Columbia and proved to be false. Eight Branches, Fort Wayne, Ind., Johnstown, Pa., Nashville, Tenn., Austin, Tex., Dublin, Ga., Milwaukee, Wis., Beatrice, Nebr., and New York worked on cases of assault on colored men by white men. Cases of manslaughter which the Branches took up were reported by Montgomery, Ala., District of Columbia, Danville, Va., and New York City. In Birmingham, Ala., a colored soldier who was thrown into jail for speaking to a Greek girl whom he mistook for an acquaintance was ably assisted by the Branch.

Soldiers

Many were the complaints of discriminatory treatment of the colored soldiers in camps, on trains, in their own home

towns, in hospitals and by the Red Cross. These cases were handled by Columbus, O., Gary, Ind., Wilmington, Del., Nashville, Tenn., Chicago, New York, and Rockford, Ill. Anniston-Hobson City, Ala., has interested the country in her efforts to save a soldier who killed a street car conductor in self-defense last year. The Boston Branch investigated cases of colored soldiers who were kept at menial labor in Camp Devens long after they should have been discharged. Oklahoma was represented on various war committees. Reception, picnics and banquets were tendered by the Branches to their returned soldiers. Among these were Petersburg, Va., Nashville, Tenn., Providence, R. I., Rome, Ga., Santa Monica Bay, Cal., Selma, Ala., Birmingham, Ala., and Marshall, Tex. Hartford, Conn., formed an organization among her soldiers.

Social Service

Realizing their responsibility towards their communities the Branches have busied themselves in the social problems around them. The Nashville, Tenn., Branch has tried to secure pay for a social worker who has been laboring to correct evils and abuses among the colored people. Tuscaloosa, Ala., has had appointed a colored woman probation officer in the Juvenile Court. Lansing, Mich., is helping the newcomers in her city to become adjusted to their environment. Lynchburg, Va., has been cleaning out "red light" districts and Chicago has been interested in civic problems. Mart, Tex., and Vallejo, Cal., have attempted to elevate the moral tone of sections in their cities. Charleston, W. Va., has been of special service to soldiers and widows of soldiers. Surveys and statistics of the colored population were taken by Toledo, O., Stamford, Conn., and Lansing, Mich. Co-operative business has appealed to Montgomery, Ala., Mem-

phis, Tenn., and Rome, Ga. New Bedford, Mass., adopted a French orphan.

Continued censoring of the press and moving pictures and conferences with editors in regard to the way in which they featured Negro news were undertaken by Springfield, Mo., Cleveland, O., Springfield, Mass., New York, Toledo, O., Fort Smith, Ark., Adrian, Mich., and Charleston, W. Va. Open letters to the press in answer to hurtful propaganda and with the purpose of improving civic conditions were written by Tacoma, Wash., and Petersburg, Va. The Branches generally have tried to acquaint the white people with their aims, sometimes by sending prominent citizens literature, other times by securing them as members, and other times by co-operating with them in enterprises as Tuscaloosa, Ala., Toledo, O., Bloomington-Normal, Ill., Parkersburg, W. Va., and Keokuk, Ia., have done.

Riots

In connection with the riots effective work has been accomplished. The Austin, Tex., and San Antonio, Tex., Branches looked after the men who were taken prisoners in the Longview, Tex., riots; District of Columbia and Chicago have busied themselves in seeing that their riot victims secured justice, while Omaha, Neb., tried to prevent the riots by purging her press and has since attended the courts in the effort to see that justice was done and false impressions cleared away.

Labor

The stand taken by the A. F. of L. at Atlantic City to admit Negroes to all unions was of great importance. Now it remains for localities to see that that decision is carried out.

The Secretary of the Boston Branch was on the committee to secure employment for returning soldiers. He wisely used his influence against discrimination. Pueblo, Col., held a meeting in regard to the organization of colored steel workers by the A. F. of L. Hartford, Conn., brought to the attention of the Central Labor Union the mistreatment of colored women by the tobacco growers. New Orleans had the unique distinction of having a union of colored women workers. Toledo, O., was instrumental in the reinstatement of colored laborers who had been discharged in the New York Central railroad without cause. In Wheeling, W. Va., the President of the Branch pledged 2,000 white union men to work for the abolition of the color line. Marion, Ind., investigated a threatened removal of colored laborers from Huntington, Ind.; investigations of the steel strike riots in Canton, O., proved that the colored workers were not causing trouble but were staying away from the mills. One fact noted by the Boston Branch was that the field of labor is broader for the colored man than ever before. "It is to his advantage," they warn, "to make the most of every opportunity."

IX

MISCELLANEOUS

Tenth Annual Conference

The Tenth Annual Conference of the Association, held at Cleveland, Ohio, from June 22 to June 29, was the largest and most constructive conference yet held by the National Association. There were 265 delegates present from 34 states. Every Southern state was represented.

General sessions were devoted to The Negro in Labor and Industry, The Northern Migration, Education, Social Welfare, The Negro and the Vote, Publicity, The Negro in the War, Negro Citizenship at Home and Lynching. The attendance at the Sunday opening session and at night sessions taxed the capacity of the large auditoriums provided.

An account of the Conference was published in *The Crisis* for August, 1919, and, in more detail, in the *Branch Bulletin* for July, 1919. One of the addresses made, that by Mr. Leo N. Favrot, State Supervisor of Rural Schools of Louisiana, was reprinted by the Louisiana State Department of Education, and distributed by the Association.

Annual Conference for 1920

At the urgent invitation of the Atlanta, Ga., Branch, backed by invitations from Governor Hugh M. Dorsey, the Mayor and the Chamber of Commerce of Atlanta, the 1919 Conference recommended that Atlanta be chosen as the 1920 meeting place.* At its meeting in December, the National Board of Directors voted to hold the next annual conference in Atlanta.†

* These invitations were supplemented later by one from the Atlanta Committee on Church Cooperation, an organization of the white churches.

† May 30 to June 2, 1920.

Spingarn Medal Award

At the Cleveland Conference the Fifth Spingarn Medal was awarded to Archibald H. Grimké of Washington, D. C., "for seventy years of distinguished service to his country and his race—as Consul to San Domingo, as president of the American Negro Academy, as author and scholar, and especially as president of the District of Columbia Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which under his leadership has become the safeguard of the rights of eleven million people at the capital of the nation."

Additions to Board of Directors

At the annual meeting of the Association, held in January, 1920, all existing members were re-elected, and the following were added, to the Board of Directors: Arthur Capper, Topeka, Kansas (United States Senator from Kansas); Harry H. Pace, Atlanta, Ga.; Harry E. Davis, Cleveland, Ohio; Dr. J. Max Barber, Philadelphia, Pa.

During 1919, Messrs. E. Burton Ceruti, Los Angeles, Cal., and Neval H. Thomas, Washington, D. C., were elected to fill vacancies.

Officers for 1920

J. E. Spingarn, acting-treasurer during 1919 in place of Oswald Garrison Villard, resigned on account of pressure of other business, was elected treasurer for 1920; all other officers were re-elected.

Additions to Staff

The number of executive and clerical workers at National Headquarters was increased to meet the larger demands of the work from a total of twelve persons at the beginning of the year, to eighteen workers at the end of the year.

X

FINANCES

A comparison of the financial condition of the Association at the close of the year, 1919, with that obtaining at the close of 1918, and of receipts and expenses for both years shows the following*:

	1919	1918	Increase Over 1918
RECEIPTS FOR THE YEAR:			
General Fund.....	\$43,613.15	\$27,862.76	\$15,750.39
Anti-Lynching Fund.....	12,391.12	1,551.73	10,839.39
Legal Defense Fund.....	5,738.27	34.00	5,704.27
Maclean Memorial Fund.....	13.16	5.62	7.54
All Funds.....	\$61,755.70	\$29,454.11	\$32,301.59
(Increased Revenue for 1919, 110 per cent.)			
	1919	1918	Increase Over 1918
EXPENDITURES FOR THE YEAR:			
General Fund.....	\$42,513.97	\$23,422.68	\$19,091.29
Anti-Lynching Fund.....	15,793.26	3,283.23	12,510.03
Legal Defense Fund.....	1,000.00		1,000.00
Maclean Memorial Fund.....	162.00	71.75	90.25
All Funds.....	\$59,469.23	\$26,777.66	\$32,691.57
(Increased Expenditures, 122 per cent.)			
	1919	1918	
BALANCES:			
General Fund.....	\$4,992.56	\$4,328.48	
Anti-Lynching Fund.....	2,843.53	6,245.67	
Legal Fund.....	4,814.77	76.50	
Maclean Memorial Fund.....	66.50	215.34	
Jim Crow Fund.....	8.00	8.00	
Total.....	\$12,725.36	\$10,873.99	

* Complete financial statement follows.

It is interesting to note that more than 62,300 individuals contributed to the Association's support as follows:

	General Fund	Special Funds
Contributors of \$1,000 and over*	1	5
\$500 to \$999.....	3	1
100 to 499.....	24	39
25 to 99.....	62	106
10 to 24.....	118	190
2 to 9.....	1,031	323
Less than \$2.....	60,411	23
	61,650	687

About sixty per cent of the total support of the Association comes directly from the branches; *i.e.*, from a constituency, more than 90 per cent of whom are colored people, contributing their membership fees to the branches, the branches, in turn, retaining approximately one-half of the amount received for their local work. In addition, the branches are indirectly to be credited with some of the memberships sent directly to the National Office by individuals.

It is interesting further to note that approximately one-half of the \$5,783 contributed to the Legal Defense Fund, and \$2,881 of the \$12,391 contributed to the Anti-Lynching Fund, were raised by branches, in addition to their regular membership quotas. The unusual character of the Association's support may be illustrated by the statement, obvious from an examination of the above table, that 97 per cent of the Association's supporters contribute sums less than two dollars each.† He who runs may read, that while the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has some

* All \$1,000, except one contribution of \$1,114.06 to the Anti-Lynching Fund from the District of Columbia Branch. Three of the six are the gifts of colored people.

† With a few exceptions, this 97 per cent are Branch members, paying the minimum fee of \$1.00, of which one-half is retained for local work by the local branches.

few larger contributors whose support it very much appreciates, its main support comes from the rank and file. Democratic in support as it is in purpose, the Association appeals for generous contributions to such of the readers of this report as may be among the rare few who, having advantages themselves of fully recognized citizenship and of means, are willing to share those advantages with their Negro fellow citizens. To such we offer the appeal of a cause whose increasing support by colored people whom it seeks to serve, is the best evidence of genuine worth. Also, we would appeal for a larger number of colored contributors who can give annually sums from \$5 to \$100, or more, as their share of the work to "make men free," in the larger emancipation.

The Association wishes to express its cordial appreciation of the support given its work by so many devoted friends of both races. It acknowledges, with gratitude, the help of such organizations, aside from its affiliated branches, as have generously contributed to its support.

The books and accounts of the Association and *The Crisis* have been audited, as heretofore, by Mr. F. J. Batchelder of New York, certified public accountant, to whom grateful acknowledgment is made.

TREASURER'S REPORT

For the Year ending December 31, 1919

CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

GENERAL FUND

BALANCE in Bank December 31, 1918.....	\$4,228.48
BALANCE in Petty Cash Fund.....	100.00

Revenues:

RECEIPTS

Memberships.....	\$34,266.25
Contributions.....	8,364.63
Literature Sales.....	880.01

Accounts Receivable:

<i>The Crisis</i>	750.00	
		44,260.89
		\$48,589.37

Expenses:

DISBURSEMENTS

Salaries.....	\$20,995.28
Printing.....	6,195.82
Traveling Expenses.....	3,765.80
Postage.....	2,974.11
Rent of Offices.....	1,599.96
General Expense and Supplies.....	1,702.70
Advertising.....	852.05
<i>Branch Bulletin</i> (Net Cost of Printing).....	478.17
Telephone.....	307.20
Telegrams.....	458.87
Clippings.....	144.67
Multigraphing.....	222.40
Office Partitions, Wiring and Shelving.....	651.25
Meetings.....	638.86
Light.....	200.76
Prizes (Membership Campaign Pennants).....	69.95
Ohio Conference.....	258.82
Legal Defense.....	430.00

Accounts Payable:

<i>The Crisis</i> (Balance on 1918 Account).....	145.30
--	--------

Capital Expenditures:

Furniture Purchased.....	1,230.94
Emblems Purchased.....	193.29
Advances for Traveling Expense.....	79.21

	\$43,595.41	
BALANCE in Bank and Petty Cash Fund Dec. 31, 1919...	4,993.96	
		\$48,589.37

SPECIAL FUNDS

ANTI-LYNCHING FUND:

Balance in Bank, Dec. 31, 1918.....	\$6,245.67
<i>Receipts</i> for the year 1919.....	12,391.12
	\$18,636.79

Expenditures for the year:

Salaries.....	\$4,135.15
Telegrams.....	689.34
Multigraphing.....	921.79
Meetings.....	431.00
Advertising.....	209.86
Traveling Expenses.....	2,471.53
Postage.....	1,453.55
Chicago Riot Cases.....	1,000.00
Miscellaneous.....	94.60
Printing.....	4,386.44

		\$15,793.26
Balance in Bank, Dec. 31, 1919.....	2,843.53	
		\$18,636.79

MACLEAN MEMORIAL FUND:

Balance in Bank, Dec. 31, 1918.....	\$215.34	
Interest.....	13.16	
		\$228.50
Printing.....	\$162.00	
Balance in Bank, Dec. 31, 1919.....	66.50	
		\$228.50

LEGAL DEFENSE FUND:

Balance in Bank, Dec. 31, 1918.....	\$76.50	
Contributions.....	5,738.27	
		\$5,814.77
Expenditures.....	\$1,000.00	
Balance, Dec. 31, 1919.....	4,814.77	
		\$5,814.77

JIM CROW FUND:

Balance in Bank, Dec. 31, 1919.....	\$8.00
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REVENUE AND EXPENSE ACCOUNT

REVENUE:

Memberships.....	\$34,266.25
Contributions.....	8,364.63
Literature Sales.....	880.01
Profit on Emblems Sold.....	102.26

 \$43,613.15

EXPENSES:

Salaries.....	\$20,995.28
Printing.....	6,195.82
Traveling Expense.....	3,765.80
Postage.....	2,974.11
Rent of Offices.....	1,599.96
General Expense and Supplies.....	1,702.70
Advertising.....	852.05
Branch Bulletin (net cost of printing).....	478.17
Telephone.....	307.20
Telegrams.....	458.87
Clippings.....	144.67
Multigraphing.....	222.40
Office Partitions, Electric Wiring and Shelving.....	651.25
Meetings.....	638.86
Light.....	200.76
Prizes (Membership Campaign Pennants).....	69.95
Ohio Conference.....	258.82
Depreciation on Furniture and Fixtures.....	250.94
Legal Defense.....	430.00
New York Branch (Account Cancelled).....	314.96

 \$42,512.57

NET GAIN for year ending Dec. 31, 1919.....	1,100.58
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 \$43,613.15

BALANCE SHEET

GENERAL FUND

ASSETS:

Balance in Corn Exchange Bank December 31, 1919.....	\$4,893.96
Balance in Petty Cash Fund.....	100.00
Furniture and Fixtures.....	3,127.83
Emblems on Hand.....	80.00
Accounts Receivable.....	690.52

PRESENT WORTH.....	\$8,892.31
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XI

THE TASK FOR 1920*

First and foremost among the objectives for 1920 must be the continued strengthening of the Association's organization and resources. Its general program must be adapted to specific ends. Its chief aims have many times been stated:

1. A vote for every Negro man and woman on the same terms as for white men and women.

2. An equal chance to acquire the kind of an education that will enable the Negro everywhere wisely to use this vote.

3. A fair trial in the courts for all crimes of which he is accused, by judges in whose election he has participated without discrimination because of race.

4. A right to sit upon the jury which passes judgment upon him.

5. Defense against lynching and burning at the hands of mobs.

6. Equal service on railroad and other public carriers. This to mean sleeping car service, dining car service, Pullman service, at the same cost and upon the same terms as other passengers.

7. Equal right to the use of public parks, libraries and other community services for which he is taxed.

8. An equal chance for a livelihood in public and private employment.

9. The abolition of color-hyphenation and the substitution of "straight Americanism."

The Association seeks to overcome race prejudice but its

* Revised from the Ninth Annual Report (for 1919).

objective may better be described as a fight against *caste*. Those who seek to separate the Negro from the rest of Americans are intent upon establishing a caste system in America and making of all black men an *inferior caste*. As America could not exist "half slave and half free" so it cannot exist with an upper caste of whites and a lower caste of Negroes. Let no one be deceived by those who would contend that they strive only to maintain "the purity of the white race" and that they wish to separate the races but to do no injustice to the black man. The appeal is to history which affords no example of any group or element of the population of any nation which was separated from the rest and at the same time treated with justice and consideration. Ask the Jew who was compelled to live in the proscribed Ghetto whether being held separate he was afforded the common rights of citizenship and the "equal protection of the laws?" To raise the question is to find the answer "leaping to the eyes," as the French say.

Nor should any one be led astray by the tiresome talk about "social equality." Social equality is a private question which may well be left to individual decision. But, the prejudices of individuals cannot be accepted as the controlling policy of a state. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is concerned primarily with *public equality*. America is a nation—not a private club. The privileges no less than the duties of citizenship belong of right to no *separate class* of the people but to *all* the people, and to them as *individuals*. The constitution and the laws are for the protection of the minority and of the unpopular, no less than for the favorites of fortune, or they are of no meaning as American instruments of government.

Such a program as has been outlined is worthy of the support of all Americans. The forces which seek to deny, and do deny, to the Negro his citizenship birthright, are powerful and intrenched. They hold the public offices. They ad-

minister the law. They say who may, and who may not, vote, in large measure. They control and edit, in many sections, the influential organs of public opinion. They dominate. To dislodge them by legal and constitutional means, as the N. A. A. C. P. proposes to endeavor to dislodge them, requires a strong organization and ample funds. These two things attained, victory is but a question of time, since justice will not forever be denied.

The lines along which the Association can best work are fairly clear. Its fight is of the brain and the soul and to the brain and the soul of America. *It seeks to reach the conscience of America.* America is a large and busy nation. It has many things to think of besides the Negro's welfare. In Congress and state legislatures and before the bar of public opinion, the Association must energetically and adequately defend the Negro's right to fair and equal treatment. To command the interest and hold the attention of the American people for *justice to the Negro* requires money to print and circulate literature which states the facts of the situation. And the appeal must be on the basis of the facts. It is easy to talk in general terms and abstractly. The presentation of concrete data necessitates ample funds.

Lynching must be stopped. Many Americans do not believe that such horrible things happen as do happen when Negroes are lynched and burned at the stake. Lynching can be stopped when we can reach the heart and conscience of the American people. Again, money is needed.

Legal work must be done. Defenseless Negroes are every day denied the "equal protection of the laws" because there is not money enough in the Association's treasury to defend them, either as individuals or as a race.

Legislation must be watched. Good laws must be promoted wherever that be possible and bad laws opposed and defeated, wherever possible. Once more money is essential.

The public must be kept informed. This means that our regular press service under the supervision of a trained newspaper man must be maintained and strengthened. Every opportunity must be sought out to place before the magazine and periodical reading public, constructive articles on every phase of Negro citizenship. During 1919, 19 such articles were contributed by members of our staff to leading weeklies and monthlies. That colored people are contributing their fair share to the well-being of America must be made known. The war has made familiar the heroic deeds of the colored soldier. The colored civilian has been, and is now, contributing equally to America's welfare. If men have proven to be heroes in warfare, they must have had virtues in peace time. That law-abiding colored people are denied the commonest citizenship rights, must be brought home to all Americans who love fair play. Once again, money is needed.

The facts must be gathered and assembled. This requires effort. Facts are not gotten out of one's imagination. Their gathering and interpretation is skilled work. Research workers of a practical experience are needed. Field investigations, in which domain the Association has already made some notable contributions, are essential to good work. More money.

The country must be thoroughly organized. The Association's more than 300 branches are a good beginning. An increased field staff is essential to the upbuilding of this important branch development.* A very large percentage of the branch members are colored people. Colored people have less means, and less experience in public organization, than white people. But, they are developing rapidly habits of efficiency in organization. Money, again is needed.

But, not money alone is needed. Men and women are vital

* An associate field secretary, in the person of William Pickens, late Dean of Morgan College, Baltimore, was added to our staff, February 1, 1920.

to success. Public opinion is the main force upon which the Association relies for a *victory of justice*. Particularly do we seek the active support of all white Americans who realize that a democracy cannot draw the color line in public relations without lasting injury to its best ideals.

Summing up, the following Budget for 1920 is needed:

For Administrative Work and Supervision.....	\$8,000
For Field Organization, Investigation and Traveling Expense.....	17,000
For Department of Branches and <i>Branch Bulletin</i>	3,000
For Educational and Publicity Work.....	11,600
For the Fight Against Lynching.....	10,000
For Legal Defense.....	10,000
For General Office Expense, Rent, Clerical and Stenographic Salaries, Postage and all other maintenance items.....	18,400
Total.....	\$78,000

APPENDIX I

LYNCHING RECORD FOR 1919

Name	Date	Place	Manner of Lynching
Henry Thomas.....	Jan. 18	Grand Bayou, La.	
Bragg Williams.....	Jan. 20	Hillsboro, Texas.....	Burned
Sampson Smith.....	Jan. 30	Monroe, La.....	Hanged
John Daniels.....	Feb. 6	New Bern, N. C.....	Hanged
Will Fortner.....	Feb. 14	Bossier, La.....	Hanged and Shot
Eugene Green.....	Mar. 2	Belzoni, Miss.....	Hanged
Cicero Cage.....	Mar. 13	Tuscaloosa, Ala.....	Cut to pieces
Joe Walker.....	Mar. 13	Greenville, Fla.....	Shot
Bud Johnson (soldier).....	Mar. 14	Pace, Fla.....	Burned
.....	April 14	Millen, Ga.	
Sam McIntyre.....	April 23	Forrest City, Ark.....	Hanged
George Holden.....	April 29	Monroe, La.....	Shot
Tom Gwyn.....	April 29	Hickory, N. C.	
Benny Richards.....	May 2	Warrentown, Ga.....	Hanged
			(Burned after death)
Discharged soldier.....	May 9	Pickens, Miss.	
.....(woman)....	May 9	Pickens, Miss.	
Lloyd Clay.....	May 14	Vicksburg, Miss.....	Burned
Jim Waters.....	May 15	Scott, Ga.	
Will Moore.....	May 20	Ten Mile, Miss.....	Hanged and Shot
Frank Livingston (soldier)....	May 21	Eldorado, Ark.....	Burned
Jay Lynch (white).....	May 28	Lamar, Mo.....	Hanged
.....	May 28	Mineral Wells, Miss...	
Berry Washington.....	May 30	Milan, Ga.....	Hanged
James E. Lewis.....	June 6	Prichard, Ala.....	Shot
Max Smith.....	June 7	Abbeville, S. C.	
Clyde Ellison.....	June 15	Star City, Ark.....	Hanged
Jim McMillan.....	June 18	Woodstock, Ala.....	Shot
Frank Foukal (white).....	June 22	Bay Minette, Ala.....	Shot
John Hartfield.....	June 26	Ellisville, Miss.....	Burned
Lije Blake.....	June 26	Tillman, S. C.....	Shot
.....	June 28	Richton, Miss.....	Hanged
Lemuel Walters.....	June 17	Longview, Texas.....	Hanged
Robert Truett (soldier).....	July 15	Louise, Miss.	
Chilton Jennings.....	July 24	Gilmer, Texas.....	Hanged
Argie M. Robinson.....	Aug. 1	Clarke County, Ala.	
Charles Kelly (soldier).....	Aug. —	Fayette County, Ga...	Shot
.....	Aug. 5	Cochran, Ga.....	Hanged

Name	Date	Place	Manner of Lynching
Jim Grant (soldier).....	Aug. 14	Pope City, Ga.	
Walter Eliot.....	Aug. 20	Louisburg, N. C.....	Shot
Eli Cooper.....	Aug. 28	Ocmulgee, Ga.....	Shot
			(Burned after death)
Lucius McCarty.....	Aug. 31	Bogalusa, La.....	
			(Burned after death)
Flinton Briggs (soldier).....	Sept. 3	Star City, Ark.....	Shot
.....	Sept. 6	Monroe, La.....	Shot
Bowman Cook.....	Sept. 8	Jacksonville, Fla.....	Hanged and Shot
John Morine.....	Sept. 8	Jacksonville, Fla.....	Hanged and Shot
L. B. Reed (soldier).....	Sept. 10	Clarksdale, Miss.....	Hanged
Obe Cox.....	Sept. 10	Oglethorpe Co., Ga....	Burned
Salvador Orteza (Mex.).....	Sept. 13	Pueblo, Col.....	Hanged
Jose Gonzales (Mex.).....	Sept. 13	Pueblo, Col.....	Hanged
.....	Sept. 13	Jonesville, La.....	Shot
Robert Croskey (soldier).....	Sept. 29	Montgomery, Ala....	Shot
Miles Phifer.....	Sept. 29	Montgomery, Ala....	Shot
John Temple.....	Sept. 29	Montgomery, Ala....	Shot
Will Brown.....	Sept. 29	Omaha, Neb.....	Burned
Elihu Johnson, Louis Johnson,			
Gibson Johnson, Leroy Johnson	Oct. 2	Elaine, Ark.....	Shot (4)
Ernest Glenwood.....	Oct. 2	Americus, Ga.....	Drowned
Mose Martin.....	Oct. 5	Washington, Ga.....	Shot
Mose Freeman.....	Oct. 6	Lincolnton, Ga.....	Shot
Jack Gordon.....	Oct. 7	Lincolnton, Ga.....	Burned
Will Brown.....	Oct. 7	Lincolnton, Ga.....	Burned
Eugene Hamilton.....	Oct. 7	Macon, Ga.....	Shot
.....	Oct. 16	Buena Vista, Ga.....	
.....	Oct. 16	Buena Vista, Ga.....	
Alex. Wilson.....	Oct. 21	Skidmore, Ark.....	Shot
Gus Jackson.....	Oct. 23	Shreveport, La.....	Beaten to death
Henry Booth.....	Oct. 26	Humboldt, Tenn.....	Shot
Paul Jones.....	Nov. 3	Macon, Ga.....	Burned
.....(white).....	Nov. 6	Stafford, Kan.....	
Robert Motley.....	Nov. 8	Lambert, Miss.....	Hanged
Ernest Everett (white).....	Nov. 11	Centralia, Wash.....	Hanged
Jordan Jameson.....	Nov. 11	Magnolia, Ark.....	Burned
.....	Nov. 16	Moberly.....	Shot
Wallace Hayes.....	Nov. 19	Madison, Ga.....	Shot
Neville Foxworth.....	Nov. 28	Foxworth, Miss.....	Shot
Sam Mosely.....	Nov. 28	Lake City, Fla.....	Hanged
Jack Ridicer.....	Nov. 30	Wilkinson Co., Ga....	Hanged
E. D. Whitfield.....	Dec. 15	Chapmanville, W. Va.	Shot
Earl Whitney.....	Dec. 15	Chapmanville, W. Va.	Shot
Charles West (soldier).....	Dec. 21	Smithville, Ga.....	Shot
Powell Green.....	Dec. 27	Franklinton, N. C....	Shot

APPENDIX II

Signers of the Call for the First National Conference on Lynching and of The Address to the Nation.

(Signers of Call for Lynching Conference only indicated thus (*); of Address to the Nation only, thus (†). Names not preceded by distinguishing mark signed both documents.

ALABAMA

Emmet O'Neal, Birmingham, Former Governor of Alabama.

ARIZONA

†Thomas E. Campbell, Phoenix, Governor of Arizona.

CALIFORNIA

David Starr Jordan, Stanford, Chancellor Emeritus, Stanford University.
Benjamin Ide Wheeler, Berkeley, President University of California.

COLORADO

Ben B. Lindsey, Denver, Judge Juvenile Court.

CONNECTICUT

¹ Simeon E. Baldwin, Hartford, former Governor of Connecticut.

†William Howard Taft, New Haven, Twenty-Seventh President of the United States.

William English Walling, Greenwich, Member Board of Directors, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

DELAWARE

*George Gray, Wilmington, Former Senator.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

William H. DeLacy, Washington, Formerly Judge Children's Court.

Archibald H. Grimké, Washington, Vice-President National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

†William Hard, Washington, Writer.

John R. Hawkins, Washington, Secretary Financial Department, A. M. E. Church, Washington.

*Julia C. Lathrop, Chief of Children's Bureau, Department of Labor.

¹ Signed with certain reservations.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—(Continued)

Rt. Rev. William F. McDowell, Washington, Bishop Methodist Episcopal Church.

A. Mitchell Palmer, Washington, Attorney-General of the United States.

Louis F. Post, Washington, Assistant Secretary U. S. Department of Labor.

Jackson H. Ralston, Washington, Lawyer.

Rev. John A. Ryan, D.D., Washington, Professor of Moral Philosophy and Industrial Ethics, Catholic University.

*Wendell Phillips Stafford, Judge of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia.

Robert H. Terrell, Washington, Judge Municipal Court.

GEORGIA

Hugh M. Dorsey, Governor.

William H. Fleming, Augusta, Former President Georgia Bar Association.

Mrs. John D. Hammond, Madison, Secretary Southern Publicity Committee.

Rev. John D. Hammond, Madison, Pastor Methodist Church, South.

¹ Rt. Rev. Frederick F. Reese, Savannah, Bishop Protestant Episcopal Church.

IDAHO

*D. W. Davis, Governor.

ILLINOIS

Horace J. Bridges, Chicago, Leader Chicago Ethical Culture Society.

Edward Osgood Brown, Chicago, Former Judge Cook County Circuit Court, Appellate Division.

Mrs. Shears Carnovale, Chicago, Leader Work for Colored People, Chicago Woman's Club.

Orrin N. Carter, Springfield, Judge State Supreme Court.

William T. Cross, Chicago, General Secretary, National Conference of Social Work.

Joseph H. Defrees, Chicago, Former President Chicago Bar Association.

Edward F. Dunne, Chicago, Former Governor of Illinois.

†Ernst Freund, Ph.D., Chicago, Professor University of Chicago.

Edmund J. James, Urbana-Campaign, President University of Illinois.

Julian W. Mack, Chicago, Judge United States Circuit Court of Appeals.

*Martin B. Madden, Chicago, Member of Congress.

*J. Medill McCormick, Chicago, United States Senator.

†Miss Mary E. McDowell, Chicago, Director and Head Worker, University of Chicago Settlement.

Robert McMurdy, Chicago, Former Judge Illinois Court of Claims.

George T. Page, Peoria, President American Bar Association.

*Lessing Rosenthal, Chicago, Former President Chicago Law Club.

*Albion W. Small, Chicago, Dean of the University of Chicago.

Graham Taylor, Chicago, President Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy.

*John H. Winterbotham, Chicago, National Citizen's Protective League.

¹ Signs without endorsing demand for Congressional Investigation of Lynching.

IOWA

†W. L. Harding, Des Moines, Governor.

INDIANA

*James P. Goodrich, Indianapolis, Governor.

*Booth Tarkington, Indianapolis, Author.

KANSAS

Henry J. Allen, Topeka, Governor.

Arthur Capper, Topeka, United States Senator, Former Governor.

KENTUCKY

†Robert W. Bingham, Louisville, Publisher *The Courier-Journal*.

*Desha Breckinridge, Lexington, President Lexington Herald Company.

LOUISIANA

Rev. Quincy Ewing, Napoleonville, Rector Christ Episcopal Church.

MARYLAND

Charles J. Bonaparte, Baltimore, Former Attorney-General of the United States.

William F. Cochran, Baltimore, Student of Political and Economic Reforms.

*James, Cardinal Gibbons, Baltimore, of the Roman Catholic Church.

*Emerson C. Harrington, Annapolis, Governor.

W. Ashbie Hawkins, Baltimore, Lawyer.

MASSACHUSETTS

Horace Bumstead, Brookline (since deceased), Former President Atlanta University.

Charles W. Eliot, Cambridge, President Emeritus Harvard University.

†Rt. Rev. William Lawrence, D.D., Boston, Bishop Protestant Episcopal Church, Diocese of Massachusetts.

William H. Lewis, Boston, Former Assistant Attorney-General of the United States.

Philip G. Peabody, Boston, Lawyer.

†Bliss Perry, Cambridge, Writer, Former Editor *The Atlantic Monthly*.

Albert E. Pillsbury, Boston, Former Attorney-General of Massachusetts.

Moorfield Storey, Boston, President National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Butler R. Wilson, Boston, Member American Bar Association.

Mary E. Wilson, Boston, Member Boston Women's City Club.

Charles Zueblin, Boston, Publicist.

MICHIGAN

Levi L. Barbour, Detroit, Lawyer.

MISSISSIPPI

- J. R. Bingham, Carrollton, Active Vice-Chairman Mississippi Welfare League.
† Rt. Rev. Theodore DuBose Bratton, D.D., Jackson, Bishop Protestant Episcopal Church.
† Rt. Rev. William Mercer Green, D.D., Jackson, Bishop Coadjutor of Mississippi.
* J. B. Hutton, Chairman Executive Committee, Synod of Mississippi, Presbyterian Church.
A. T. Stovall, Okolona, Former President of the Mississippi Bar Association.
Jack C. Wilson, Jackson, Executive Secretary Mississippi Welfare League.

MINNESOTA

- * Moses Edwin Clapp, St. Paul, former Senator.

MISSOURI

- Leonidas C. Dyer, St. Louis, Member of Congress.
† Frederick N. Judson, St. Louis, Lawyer.
Charles Nagel, St. Louis, Former Secretary of Commerce and Labor of the United States.

NEVADA

- Emmet D. Boyle, Carson City, Governor of Nevada.

NEW JERSEY

- † John Grier Hibben, Princeton, President Princeton University.
Henry van Dyke, Princeton, Former Minister to the Netherlands.

NEW YORK

- † Felix Adler, New York, Leader New York Society for Ethical Culture.
George Gordon Battle, New York, Lawyer.
* Nicholas Murray Butler, New York, President Columbia University.
Rev. George L. Cady, D.D., New York, Corresponding Secretary American Missionary Association.
Stoughton Cooley, New York, Editor *The Public*.
† Herbert Croly, New York, Editor *The New Republic*.
† Edward T. Devine, New York, Social Worker, Professor of Social Economy, Columbia University.
† W. E. B. DuBois, New York, Director of Publications and Research, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
† Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick, New York, Professor of Practical Theology, Union Theological Seminary.
Lee K. Frankel, New York, Third Vice-President Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.
† Charlotte Perkins Gilman, New York, Writer and Lecturer.
† George H. Gilman, New York, Lawyer.
* Rev. Percy Stickney Grant, D.D., New York, Rector Church of the Ascension.
* Rt. Rev. David H. Greer, New York (since deceased), Bishop Protestant Episcopal Church.
† Francis Hackett, New York, Editor *The New Republic*.

NEW YORK—(Continued)

- †Hamilton Holt, New York, Editor *The Independent*.
- †William Dean Howells, New York, Writer.
Charles Evans Hughes, New York, Former Justice United States Supreme Court.
- †Alvin Johnson, New York, Editor *The New Republic*.
James Weldon Johnson, New York, Field Secretary National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
- †Robert Underwood Johnson, New York, Editor and Writer.
- †Mrs. Florence Kelley, New York, General Secretary, National Consumers' League.
- †Paul U. Kellogg, New York, Editor, *The Survey*.
- †George W. Kirchwey, New York, United States Employment Service.
Adolph Lewisohn, New York, Banker.
- †Walter Lippmann, New York, Editor, *The New Republic*.
- *Martin W. Littleton, New York, Former Member of Congress.
- †Samuel Lane Loomis, New York, Associate Secretary American Missionary Association.
Owen R. Lovejoy, New York, General Secretary National Child Labor Committee.
- Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, New York, General Secretary Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.
- *Louis Marshall, New York, President of the Board of Trustees of the New York State College of Forestry.
John G. Milburn, New York, President of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York.
John Mitchell, New York (since deceased), Chairman New York State Industrial Commission.
- †Fred R. Moore, New York, Editor *The New York Age*.
Adelbert Moot, New York, Former President New York State Bar Association.
William Fellowes Morgan, New York, President Merchants' Association of New York.
- †Rollo Ogden, New York, Editor *New York Evening Post*.
Thomas Mott Osborne, New York, Lieutenant Commander, N. R., Naval Prison, Portsmouth, N. H.
Mary White Ovington, Brooklyn, Chairman, Board of Directors, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
Ernest Poole, New York, Writer.
- †James H. Post, New York, Sugar Refiner; President Trustees Adelphi College, Brooklyn.
- †Lawson Purdy, New York, General Director Charity Organization Society.
Elihu Root, New York, Former Secretary of State of the United States.
William Jay Schieffelin, New York, Colonel Fifteenth Regiment, N. Y. N. G.
Jacob H. Schiff, New York, Banker.
- †Edwin R. A. Seligman, New York, Economist.
- †John R. Shillady, New York, Secretary National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
- †Mrs. Willard Straight, New York.

NEW YORK—(Concluded)

†Rev. Paul Moore Strayer, D.D., Rochester, Pastor Third Presbyterian Church, Rochester.

Charles H. Strong, New York, Secretary Association of the Bar of the City of New York.

Charles H. Studin, New York, Chairman Legal Committee, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

*Mary B. Talbert, Buffalo, President National Association of Colored Women.

Rev. Worth M. Tippy, D.D., New York, Chief Social Service Department Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

†Oswald Garrison Villard, New York, Editor *The Nation*.

*William H. Wadhams, New York, Judge Criminal Court of General Sessions.

*Mme. C. J. Walker, New York (since deceased), Manufacturer.

*Frank P. Walsh, New York, Former Chairman (Joint) War Labor Board.

†Walter Weyl, New York (since deceased), Editor *The New Republic*.

†George W. Wickersham, New York, Former Attorney-General of the United States.

†Louis Wiley, New York, Business Manager, *New York Times*.

†William G. Willeox, New York, Vice-President Willcox, Peck & Hughes, Former President, Board of Education of City of New York.

†Talcott Williams, New York, Director School of Journalism, Columbia University.

Stephen S. Wise, New York, Rabbi, Free Synagogue.

L. Hollingsworth Wood, New York, President National Urban League for Social Service Among Negroes.

NORTH CAROLINA

William D. Weatherford, Blue Ridge, Field Executive Secretary, Robert E. Lee Hall of the Blue Ridge Association.

OHIO

Judson Harmon, Cincinnati, Former Attorney-General of the United States.

*Henry Churchill King, Oberlin, President Oberlin College.

†Samuel Mather, Cleveland, Trustee Carnegie Peace Foundation.

Charles F. Thwing, Cleveland, President Western Reserve University.

OREGON

†Rt. Rev. Walter Taylor Sumner, D.D., Portland, Bishop of Protestant Episcopal Church of Oregon.

PENNSYLVANIA

Samuel S. Fels, Philadelphia, Fels and Company.

George Wharton Pepper, Philadelphia, Lawyer.

*Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Moylan (since deceased), Honorary President National American Woman Suffrage Association.

RHODE ISLAND

*L. F. C. Garvin, M.D., Lonsdale, Former Governor.

James R. MacColl, Pawtucket, Treasurer Lorraine Manufacturing Company.

SOUTH DAKOTA

†Peter Norbeck, Pierre, Governor of South Dakota.

TENNESSEE

*Rt. Rev. Thomas F. Gailor, Memphis, Bishop Protestant Episcopal Church.

James H. Kirkland, Nashville, Chancellor Vanderbilt University.

Fayette A. McKenzie, Nashville, President Fisk University.

†A. H. Roberts, Nashville, Governor of Tennessee.

Bolton Smith, Memphis, President of Memphis Rotary Club.

TEXAS

†George M. Bailey, Houston, Editor *Houston Post*.

†William S. Sutton, Austin, Dean of Department of Education, The University of Texas.

UTAH

†Simon Bamberger, Salt Lake City, Governor of Utah.

VIRGINIA

James H. Dillard, Charlottesville, President Jeanes Foundation; President John F. Slater Fund.

William M. Hunley, Lexington, Secretary Southern Race Commission.

*Henry St. George Tucker, Lexington, Former President American Bar Association.

WISCONSIN

*John Bradley Winslow, Madison, Chief Justice State Supreme Court.

LIST OF PAMPHLET PUBLICATIONS

Single Copies Free Upon Request

AFRICA

Africa in the World Democracy; Addresses delivered at Carnegie Hall, New York, Jan. 6, 1919, by Horace Meyer Kallen and James Weldon Johnson, with summary of an address by Dr. William Henry Sheppard and a statement on "The Future of Africa," by W. E. Burghardt DuBois; 30 pages, 10 cents.

The Rights of Africans and of Peoples of African Origin; Editorial reprinted from the *Advocate of Peace*, American Peace Society, Washington, D. C., April, 1919. Free.

ANNUAL REPORTS

Proceedings of the National Negro Congress, 1909 (held at New York); 229 pages, cloth bound, 15 cents.

First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth and Ninth Annual Reports of the N. A. A. C. P.; paper bound.

Tenth Annual Report of the N. A. A. C. P.; 15 cents.

FICTION

The White Brute; Mary White Ovington; reprinted from *The Masses* for November, 1915; 2 pages.

GENERAL

Reconstruction and the Negro; by Mary White Ovington, Perry W. Howard, George A. Towns, S. M. Kendrick, C. V. Roman, M.D., James Weldon Johnson and Janie Porter Barrett; 8 pages.

The Negro as a Soldier; Brigadier-General Andrew S. Burt, U. S. A., (retired), reprint from *The Crisis*, 1910; 4 pages.

The Negro Question; an address delivered by Moorfield Storey, June 27, 1918, before the Wisconsin Bar Association, with resolutions adopted by the Bar Association following the delivery of the address; 30 pages, 10 cents.

The Negro in War Time; by Bolton Smith, with a rejoinder by James Weldon Johnson; reprinted from *The Public* of August 31, 1918 and September 21, 1918; 10 pages.

What the Statute Covers and What It Doesn't; (Relation of an incident concerning "Jim-Crow" travel by a white man), reprinted from *The Crisis*, January, 1919; small 4-page leaflet.

A Fight for Public Equality; an editorial from the Philadelphia *North American* of June 22, 1919, commenting upon the Eighth and Ninth (combined) Annual Reports for the Years 1917 and 1918; 4 pages.

Some Problems in the Education of the Negro in the South and How We are Trying to Meet Them in Louisiana; an address delivered by Leo M. Favrot, State Agent of Rural Schools for Negroes in Louisiana, before the N. A. A. C. P., Cleveland, Ohio, June 25, 1919; 8 pages.

HISTORICAL

Reconstruction and the Ku Klux in South Carolina; a compilation; 4 pages.

A Short History of the N. A. A. C. P. (1909-1917); 4 pages

LABOR

The Changing Status of Negro Labor; an address delivered by James Weldon Johnson, May, 1918, before the National Conference of Social Work, Kansas City, Missouri

"Work or Fight" in the South; by Walter F. White; reprinted from *The New Republic*, March 1, 1919; 8 pages.

The Negro and the Labor Union; with especial reference to the Action of the American Federation of Labor in Conference at Atlantic City, June, 1919; 4 pages.

LYNCHING, MOB VIOLENCE AND RACE RIOTS

Notes on Lynching in the United States; compiled from *The Crisis*, 1912; 16 pages.

The Lynching of Anthony Crawford; (at Abbeville, S. C., Oct. 21, 1916). Article by Roy Nash (then) Secretary N. A. A. C. P., reprinted from *The Independent* for December, 1916; 4 pages, large size.

The Burning of Ell Persons at Memphis, Tenn.; an account taken from the Memphis daily papers of May 22, 23, 24 and June 3, 1917; 4 pages.

The Burning of Ell Persons at Memphis, Tenn.; an investigation by James Weldon Johnson, for the N. A. A. C. P.; reprinted from *The Crisis* for July, 1917; 8 pages.

The Massacre of East St. Louis; an account of an investigation by W. E. Burghardt DuBois and Martha Gruening, for the N. A. A. C. P., illustrated, 20 pages; reprinted from *The Crisis* for September, 1917.

Lynchings of May, 1918, in Brooks and Lowndes Counties, Georgia; an investigation by the N. A. A. C. P.; 8 pages.

The Negro Question; by Moorfield Storey (discusses lynching); see listing under heading of "General."

President Wilson's Lynching and Mob Violence Pronouncement (of July 26, 1918).

- Philadelphia Race Riots of July 26 to July 31, 1918;** an investigation by Walter F. White, Assistant Secretary, N. A. A. C. P., and an account of action taken by the Philadelphia Branch of the N. A. A. C. P.; 8 pages.
- Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States, 1889-1918;** 105 pages, fifty cents.
- The Fight Against Lynching;** anti-lynching work of the N. A. A. C. P. for 1918; reprinted from the Ninth Annual Report, 20 pages, ten cents.
- Summary of Laws Relating to Lynching of the States (except Texas), Having More Than 25 Lynchings in Past Thirty Years;** May, 1919; one large sheet.
- Address to the Nation by Citizens of Twenty-nine States and the District of Columbia;** urging upon the Congress of the United States nationwide investigation of lynching and mob violence; published pursuant to a resolution passed at the National Conference on Lynching held in New York City, May 5 and 6, 1919; 8 pages.
- Burning at Stake in the United States;** a record of the public burning by mobs of six men, during the first six months of 1919, in the States of Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi and Texas; June, 1919; 12 pages.
- Three Thousand Will Burn Negro;** reprinted from the Jackson, Miss., *Daily News*, June 26, 1919; 1 page. (Newspaper headline.)
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